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Fontenelle

THE
HISTORY
OF
ORACLES
AND THE
CHEATS
OF THE
Pagan Priests

In Two Parts.

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NOTES

TO

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TO THE

Right Honourable

GEORGE

Lord Jeffereys,

Baron of Wem, Lord

High Chancellor of Eng-
land.

MY LORD,

Tho' Your Quality and
the Awfulness of your
High Station, might very well
prevent the Ambition of an
Author from making Addresses

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The Epistle

of this nature, to your Lordship, yet I confess my self less discouraged by the grandeur of your *Titles*; than I am by that of your *Wit*; 'tis that alone that brings me trembling to your Feet with this little Tribute of my Duty. Methought when all the honest part of the World was full of your Praise, when all that profess Loyalty were Celebrating your never dying Name, I shou'd have lookt upon my self as unworthy of the Honour I now aspire to, if I amongst the number, shou'd not with all imaginable gratitude pay my acknowledgments for the good you have rendred the publick, as well as for the Services you have rendred the Crown; which you have
more

Dedictory.

more effectually done, with more noble Bravery, Fortitude and Resignation, than any, or ther great States-man; you have so absolutely attach'd your self to the interest of your Monarch, that 'tis evident you are as intirely his own, as if after him you had no more business with the World, or even Life it self; and to this Glory you have arriv'd by such difficulties as no other Parts, Wit, or Courage could have conquer'd, and by it have carried your great Fame even above Envy.

Nor can the unthinking and most malicious of your Enemies reproach your Lordship with self-interest in any of your Services, since all the World knows, when they were thought Criminal,

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minal, nay even Punishable,
(for such miserable times we
have seen) when 'twas enough
to have forfeited your Fortune,
and almost your Life, then,
I say, there was found in
your Lordship, that undaunted
Bravery, that Spirit and fire of
Loyalty, that true concern for
the Royal Cause, that you were
the first destin'd Victim for
the slaughter, the first to be Sa-
crific'd to the *Association* Rage,
even when you had nothing
left you but Honour, Justice
and Innocence for your Guard.
And as it may be truly affirm'd
that the greatness of your Re-
solution gave the most confi-
derable assistance to the turn of
those Rabble-ruling times, and
the reestablishing them in their
right

Dedicatory.

right and regular motion, it
must be also confess'd that the
same unchangeable resolution
has continued them still (under
God and our Gracious Sove-
reign) in the same tranquillity
we now behold them; and we,
who have reap'd the advan-
tages of so good a conduct,
have now no more to do but
to express our sense of it in our
several degrees; the People by
their Prayers, and the Poets by
their Panegyricks. Such I
would gladly offer in Im-
mortal Songs; but oh! the Mu-
ses have all taken Wing, and
are fled to Climates more en-
couraging and kind, and have
scarcely left behind them one
Son inspir'd; so that instead of
Nobler numbers, they are ne-

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cessitated servilely to creep after the sence of foreign Authors, stinting the Generous fancy to anothers thought.

Of this nature, my Lord, is this small Piece which I most humbly Dedicate to your Lordship. 'Tis a Discourse of Religion, in a time when we have scarce any other Theme; 'tis grown so general a Mode, that even the Sword-men are now fiercer disputants than heretofore the lazier Gown-men were, while every Spark of noise enough, (sometimes the best of the Argument) shews his Wit and Learning on that subject. But since the stream runs that way, I believ'd it as ridiculous to appear in good company dress'd like Mrs. Abigail, as (at this time)

Dedicatory.

time) not to be arguing some points of Religion, tho' never so *Mal à propo*. But least, by such an undertaking I should, as many do, but the more embarrass the Mystries of it, we shall treat here only of the *Pagan Religion*, and of the abominable Cheats of the *Oracles* and their *Priests*.

My Author, who is of the *French Nation*, has here given us a collection of many diverting and useful remarks on the *Ancient Religion* of the *Pagans*, and a very good account of those *Oracles* that once made so great a noise in the World; and which, I believe, will not be unpleasant to the Readers. But if in the result, it have but the Honour of being approv'd by your Lordship I shall, be very happy

The Epistle, &c.

happy in the occasion it gives
me of begging leave to sub-
scribe my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most humble and

most obedient Servant,

A. B.

THE P R E F A C E

TO THE

History of Oracles.

Not long since there fell into
my Hands a small Book writ-
ten in Latin, de Oraculis
Ethnicorum, or of the Heathen Ora-
cles, composed by Mr. Van-Dale Do-
ctor of Physick, and printed in Holland,
in which I found that the Author has
strenuously refuted the commonly recei-
ved Opinion, that the ancient Oracles
were delivered by *Dæmons*, and that
they ceased wholly at the coming of
Jesus Christ. The whole Work appeared
to me to be full of Knowledge in Anti-
quity and profound Learning: Which
gave me a great Curiosity to translate
it, that the Ladies and those Gentle-
men, who do not much care to read
Latin,

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Latin, might not be deprived of so agreeable and useful a Discourse. But I reflected, that a Translation of this Book (though excellent in its Original) would not be so good if too closely turned into French: For Mr. Vandale wrote only for the Learned, and had Reason to neglect those Ornaments and Softnesses, which they do not esteem; he cites a great Number of Passages very faithfully, and his Versions are wonderful exact when he translates from the Greek; he enters also into a discussion of many Points of Criticism, which, though they are not always necessary, yet they are always curious; and this he does, to gratifie the Learned, who care little for flourishing Reflections, Discourses of Morality, or pleasant Wit.

Besides, Mr. Van-Dale makes no difficulty very often to interrupt the Thread of his Discourse, and to introduce other things which present themselves: And from ~~one~~ Digression he sometimes passes to another, and so perhaps to a third. And herein he does not amiss, since those for whom he writes, are

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are fitted for the Fatigue of Reading, and this Learned Disorder does not at all embarrass or perplex them. But those, for whom I design this Translation, would have been very ill accommodated, if I had taken this Method: The Ladies, and the Major Part of the Men of this Country, are indeed more pleased with the Graces and Turns of Expression and Thought than with the most exact Enquiries and profoundest Arguments: And being very fond of ease, they desire to read Books written in a facile Method, that they may be the less obliged to a troublesome Attention. For this Reason, I laid-by the thoughts of translating, and thought it would be better, preserving the Foundation and principal Matter of the Work, to give it altogether another Form. And I confess, that no Man can extend this Liberty farther than I have done; for I have changed the whole Disposition of the Book, and have retrenched whatever appeared to me, either of too little Profit in it self, or of too little Pleasure to make amends for that little Profit. I have
not

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not only added all the Ornaments I could think of, but many things which prove or clear up what is in Question upon the same Subject and the same Passages, which Mr. Van-Dale furnished me withal. I argue sometimes in a manner contrary to his, and I have not been scrupulous to insert many Reasons wholly my own: In fine, I have new cast and modelled the whole Work, and have put it into the same Order as I should have done at first (to have pleased my particular view) had I had so much Knowledge as Mr. Van-Dale; but, since I am far from it, I have borrowed his Learning, and ventured to make use of my own Wit and Fancy (such as it is,) to adorn it. Nor should I have fail'd to have pursued his Method, had I had to do with the same Persons as he had. And if it shall happen that this comes to his Knowledge, I beseech him to pardon the Liberty I have taken, since it will serve to show the Excellency of his Book: For certainly what belongs to him will still appear extremely fine, tho' it have passed through my Hands.

I

The Preface.

*I have lately learned two things, which have Relation to this Book. The first out of the Tracts called *Nouvelles, &c. or News from the Common-wealth of Letters, which is, that Mr. Mæbius, chief of the Professors of Divinity at Leipfick has undertaken to confute Mr. Van-Dale. He acknowledges indeed, that Oracles did not cease at the Coming of Jesus Christ, (which will be indisputable when we shall have examined that Question;) but he will by no means yield, that Dæmons were not the Authors of Oracles. So that he himself makes a very considerable Invasion on the common Opinion, in allowing Oracles to extend themselves beyond the time of the coming of Christ; and it will be a great Argument that they were not delivered by Dæmons, but by the Cheats of the Priests, if the Son of God did not silence them. 'Tis certain, that according to the usual Acceptation of these two Notions, what destroys the one extremely shakes the other, or rather quite ruins it: And this perhaps, after the reading of this Book, will be readily acknowledged to be so. But*

** For the Month of June, 1686.*

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But what is more remarkable, is, that I found in the same Book, that one of Mr. Mæbius's strongest Reasons against Mr. Van-Dale, was, that God forbid the Israelites to consult Wizards and the Spirits of Python, whence he concludes that Python, that is to say the Dæmons, managed the Oracles, and that it was by their Aid that the Ghost of Samuel was made to appear. Mr. Van-Dale may answer what he pleases, but for my part, I declare, that under the Name of Oracles, I do not pretend to comprehend Magick: In which it is not to be disputed but that Dæmons are concerned; nor is it comprehended in what we commonly understand by the word [Oracle] not even according to the Sence of the ancient Heathens, who on one side regarded Oracles with Respect, as a part of their Religion, and on the other Hand had a Horror for Magick, as well as we. To go and consult a Necromancer, or some Witch of Thessaly, like Erieto in Lucan, was not called, going to an Oracle; and if we mark it, this distinction is true, even according to the common Opinion, which affirms that Oracles ceased

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ceased at the coming of Christ, and yet no Man can pretend that Magick then ceased. So that the Objection of Mr. Mæbius makes nothing against me, if he take the word [Oracle] in its ordinary and natural Signification, as well ancient as modern.

The second thing I have to speak of is, that I am advertised that the Reverend Father Thomassin, a Priest of the Oratory, famous for so many excellent Books, wherein he has joined solid Piety to Profound Learning, has taken from this Book the Honour of first broaching this Paradox, by treating Oracles as meer Knavery (in his Book called, The Method of Study, and of teaching the Poets to Christian Children.) I confess I was a little troubled at this, but I pacified my self with reading the twenty first Chapter of the eleventh Book of this Method, where I found nothing relating to my Opinion, save only that in the nineteenth Article, there are a very few words to the following Sence: The true Reason (says he) why Silence was imposed on Oracles, was, because by the Invocation

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cation of the Divine Word, truth has enlightned the World, and spread a broad abundance of Light far different from what was before, by which Men are emancipated from the Illusions of *Augurs* and *Astrologers*, the Observations of the Entrails of Beasts, and the greatest part of *Oracles*: Which were indeed but *Impostures*, whereby Men deceived one another with obscure Words that bore a double Sence: In fine, if there were *Oracles*, in which the Devil spoke, the coming of the *Incarnate Truth* condemned the Father of Lyes to an eternal Silence. 'Tis however very certain that *Dæmons* were consulted, whenever Men had Recourse to *Inchantments* and *Magick*, as *Lucan* reports of *Pompey* the younger, and as the Scripture assures us concerning *Saul*. I agree that in such a great *Treatise*, which mentions *Oracles* but by the by (and that without any Design of searching into the depth of the matter) it is enough to attribute the most part of *Oracles* to the *Contrivances* and *Deceits* of Men, and to make a Question whether there were

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were any of them at all in which *Dæmons* were concerned, and to allow the *Dæmons* no farther *Employment* than comes within the Compass of *Incantations* and *Magick*; and in fine to prove that *Oracles* ceas'd, not because the Son of God imposed Silence on 'em, all of a sudden; but because the most enlightned Wits were disabused by the Publication of the Gospel: Which still supposes that those humane Artifices could not be detected in a little time. However in my Opinion a Question decided in so few Words ought to be treated of a-new, and that in all its natural Extent, without any Mians being offended by the Repetition; for 'tis putting in great, what the World has hitherto seen but only in little; and so in little, that its Objects are scarce perceptible.

I know not whether it be permitted me to enlarge my Preface, by making a short Observation upon the *Stile* I shall use, which is familiar, and after the manner of conversing: And I Imagine that I entertain my Reader so much the more pleasingly, because I must, as it

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it were, dispute with him: And the matter which I have in Hand, being often capable enough of being turned into Ridicule, engaged me in a Manner of Writing far different from that of Sublime; since I am of Opinion that none ought to write loftily, but he that writes in Defence of himself, it is so little natural. I confess, that the low Stile is yet something worse, but there is a Medium of a very great Latitude; yet 'tis mighty hard to take that Pitch which is necessary, and to keep steady to it.

T H E

(1)

THE HISTORY OF ORACLES.

MY design is not to give you directly an History of Oracles; I only intend to argue against that common Opinion which attributes 'em to *Dæmons*, and will have 'em to cease at the coming of *Jesus Christ*. In doing this 'tis necessary that I run through the whole History of Oracles, that I unfold their Originals, their Progress, the different Manners in which they were deliver'd; and lastly their Decay, with the same exactness as if I were in these matters pursuing the Natural and Historical Order.

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The History of Oracles.

It is not at all surprizing, that Philosophers shou'd have so much trouble in finding out the secrets of Nature, her Principles being so hidden that 'tis rashness in Men to think to discover 'em. But when we have no more to do, but to enquire whether the *Oracles* were a Trick and Artifice of the heathen Priests, or not, and at what time they ceas'd, Where lies the difficulty? Cannot we that are imposed on every day, imagine how far other Men may have been deceivers or deceived? But especially when the whole matter turns upon the time when *Oracles* ceased, Where can the difficulty be? There are many Books that treat of *Oracles*; let us see therefore in what time or in what Age the last *Oracles*, of which we have any knowledge, were deliver'd.

Men are not willing to suffer the decision of things to be too easie, and therefore they mingle their own prejudices with truths, and so create greater perplexities than are Naturally found therein; and those scruples, which our selves frame, give us

the

The History of Oracles.

the most pain to untangle. And in my opinion this business of *Oracles* hath no considerable difficulty in it, but what we our selves have rais'd. It is in it's own Nature, a matter of Religion amongst the *Pagans*, and become so without any necessity amongst Christians, and on both sides it is loaded with prejudices which obscure the clearest truths.

I confess that prejudices are not in themselves common to a true as well as a false Religion; for they Reign chiefly in the false, which is only the contrivance of *humane Wit*; but in the true (which is the production of God alone,) there wou'd none be ever found, if *humane Wit* cou'd be prevented from Intermedling and mixing something of its own with it; for all its new inventions are but prejudices without ground, and it is not able to add any thing real or solid to the great work of God. Nevertheless these prejudices that are in the true Religion are, as I may say, so closely interwoven with it, that they have drawn that respect to themselves which is

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only

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only due to the *true Religion*; and we dare not find fault with the one for fear of attacking at the same time something that is holy in the Other. I do not reproach this excess of Religion in those that are capable of discerning, but rather praise it; yet whatever Commendations they may deserve, we cannot but confess that a just *medium* is much the safest course; and that it is more reasonable to remove error from truth, than to venerate error because it is mix'd with truth. Christianity has been alwaies able to stand of its self without false proofs; but it is at present rendred more so than ever, by the pains the great Men of this Age have taken to Establish it on true foundations with greater Power and force than ever the Ancients did; and we ought to be fill'd with so just a confidence of our Religion as to reject all false advantages, tho they may be useful to a weaker party. Having laid this foundation I advance boldly to prove that *Oracles*, of what nature soever, were not deliver'd by *Dæmons*,
and

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and that they did not cease at the coming of *Jesus Christ*. Each of which points deserves a particular discourse.

THE FIRST DISCOURSE.

That Oracles were not given by Dæmons.

IT is certain that there are *Dæmons*, evil *Genii*, and Spirits condemn'd to eternal Punishment. Religion teaches us that; and if so, then our reason must tell us that these *Dæmons* might have animated Statues, and delivered *Oracles*, if God had permitted them so to do. We are therefore only to inquire whether they had such a permission or not.

'Tis only then a matter of fact which is in dispute; and this matter of fact depending wholly on the will of God, it is certain that it would have been revealed to us, if the

knowledge thereof were necessary. But the Holy Scriptures do not teach us any where that *Oracles* were deliver'd by *Dæmons*; and therefore we are at liberty to choose which side we will take in this matter; for it is of the number of those things that the Divine Wisdom has thought fit to leave to our own decision.

Now it is agreed on by the whole World, that there was something supernatural in *Oracles*; the reason of which is easily found, as to what regards the present Age: For since it was believ'd in the first Ages of Christianity that *Oracles* were deliver'd by *Dæmons*, this seems a sufficient cause for us to believe it now; for whatever was the opinion of the Ancients, good or bad, it was alwaies favourably received; and what they themselves cou'd not prove by sufficient Reasons, is in our days prov'd by their Authority alone. If they foresaw this, they did very well not to give themselves the trouble of reasoning too nicely. But let us inquire after the reasons which obliged the
Primi-

Primitive Christians to believe that *Oracles* had something supernatural in 'em, and we shall afterwards try whether they were sound and solid, or not.

CHAP. I.

The first Reason why the Primitive Christians believed that Oracles were delivered by Dæmons, and the surprizing Histories that were publish'd concerning Oracles and Genii.

Antiquity is full of abundance of wonderful Histories and *Oracles*, which, as it is believ'd, must needs be attributed to spirits: I will relate some few examples, which shall serve for a taste of what the rest were.

All the World knows what happen'd to the Pilot *Thamus*: His Ship being one evening near certain Islands in the *Ægean* Sea, the Winds were

hush'd on a suddain, and the Waves ceas'd their motion: all the Passengers were awake, and the greatest part of 'em passing their time in drinking one with another, when on a suddain they heard a Voice which came from the Islands, and call'd aloud, *Thamus*. *Thamus* suffer'd himself to be call'd thrice before he return'd an answer, and then the Voice commanded him, that when he did arrive at a certain place, he should cry out, *That the great Pan was dead*. There was not a Man in the Ship who was not seiz'd with fear and dread at these words, and they all consulted whether *Thamus* ought to obey the Voice or not; but *Thamus* resolv'd that if when they were arrived at the appointed Place, there were Wind enough to Sail onwards, he would pass by without saying any thing; but if a calm happen'd to keep him there, he then would acquit himself of the order he had receiv'd. And so finding himself to be surpriz'd with a Calm in that very place, he cry'd out with all his force, *That the Great Pan was dead*.

dead. Scarce had he given over speaking, but they heard from every side Groans and Complaints as of a great multitude surpriz'd and Afflicted at this news. All those who were in the Ship were witnesses of this Accident; the Fame of which spread it self in a little time, as far as *Rome*; and the Emperor *Tiberius* having a desire to see *Thamus* himself, assembled a great number of *Pagan Priests* to know of them who this great *Pan* was, and it was concluded that he was the Son of *Mercury* and *Penelope*. Thus in *Plutarch's Dialogues* (where he treats of the Cessation of Oracles) *Cleombrotus* tells this story, and says he had it of *Epithersis* his Grammar-Master, who was in the Ship with *Thamus* when this wonder happen'd.

Thulis was a King of *Egypt*, whose *Suidas* Empire extended it self as far as the Ocean: It is he who (as they said) gave the Name of *Thule* to the Isle now called *Iseland*. His Empire reaching thither was of a large extent, and the King puff'd up with Pride at his

his Success and Prosperity went to the Oracle of Serapis, and thus he spake to it: *Thou that art the God of Fire, and who governest the Course of the Heavens, tell me the Truth: Was there ever, or will there ever be one so Puissant as my self?*

The Oracle answered him thus.

First God, then the Word and Spirit, all——uniting in one, whose Power can never end. Go hence immediately, O Mortal, whose Life is always uncertain. And Thulis at his going thence had his Throat cut.

Eusebius has collected from the Writings of Porphyrius these following Oracles.

1. *Groan ye Tripodes, Apollo leaves you; he is forced to leave you by a Celestial Light. Jupiter has been, is, and ever will be: Oh great Jupiter! Alas! My famous Oracles are no more.*

2. *The Voice can return no more to the Priestess, she is condemn'd to Silence.*

lence. Make such Sacrifices to Apollo, as are worthy of a God.

3. *Unhappy Priest, (said Apollo to one of his Priests,) Interrogate me no more concerning the Holy Father, his only Son, nor the Spirit which is the Soul of all things: It is this Spirit that chases me for ever from these Abodes.*

Augustus now grown old, and designing to choose a Successor, went to consult the Oracle of Delphos. The Oracle returned no Answer, although Augustus spared no Sacrifice; but in the End he drew from it this following:

The Hebrew Infant, to whom all the Gods pay Obedience, chases me hence and sends me into Hell. Therefore quit this Temple without speaking any more.

It is easie to see that upon the Credit of such like Histories they ground their Opinion, who say, that *Dæmons* employed themselves in pronouncing Oracles. This great *Pan* (who died in the Reign of *Tiberius*, as well as *Jesus Christ*) is the Master and

Suidas, Nicophorus, Cedronus.

and Prince of the *Dæmons*, whose Empire was ruined by the Death of a God so saving to the Universe: Or, if this Explanation do not please you, (for I hope we may without Impiety give different Solutions of the same thing, although it be of a religious concern) this great *Pan* was *Jesus Christ* himself: Whose Death caused so general a Grief and Consternation among the *Dæmons*, who from that time could no more exercise their Tyranny over Mankind: Thus a way has been found out to give a double account who this great *Pan* was.

Could the Oracle delivered to King *Thulis* (an Oracle so positive concerning the Holy Trinity) be a humane Fiction? How could the Priest of *Serapis* have divined so great a Mystery, unknown then to all the World, and even to the *Jews* themselves?

If these *Oracles* were delivered by Priests, who were Impostors, what could oblige them to discredit themselves, and publish the Cessation of their own gainful *Oracles*? Is it not visible,

visible, that God forced *Dæmons* to bear Witness to the Truth? Besides, why did the *Oracles* cease; if they were only deliver'd by Priests?

C H A P. II.

The Second Reason why the Primitive Christians believed that Oracles were supernatural, and the Agreement of this Opinion with the System of Christianity.

THAT there are *Dæmons* being once allowed by Christianity, it was natural and easie enough to attribute to them the Ability of performing any thing that is Great and Wonderful, and not to refuse them the Power of delivering *Oracles*, and effecting any other *Pagan* Miracles, which seemed to have need of their Assistance. And thus the Ancients saved themselves the trouble of entering

tring into a strict enquiry about Matters which would be tedious and difficult: For all that was surprizing and extraordinary, was without any more ado ascribed to these *Dæmons*: And this alone they thought a sufficient Confirmation of their Existence, and of the Religion it self that warranted it.

Moreover, it is certain, that about the time of the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, there is often mention made of the Cessation of *Oracles* even in *Profane Authors*. Now, why this time rather than any other, was destined for the Cessation of them is very easily made out, according to the System of the *Christian Religion*. God had chosen his People out of the *Jewish Nation*, and left the Empire of the rest of the World to *Dæmons*, till the coming of his Son; but then, he deprived them of that Power, which before he permitted them to have: His Will then was, that all should submit themselves to *Jesus Christ*; and that nothing should hinder

hinder the Establishment of his Kingdom over all the World. There is such a sort of Happiness in this Thought, that I do not wonder it has made so great a Progress. This is one of those things to the truth of which we so easily accord, and which persuaded us, because we are willing to believe.

CHAP. III.

The Third Reason of the Primitive Christians, taken from the Agreement of their Opinion with the Philosophy of Plato.

NEVER any *Philosophy* was so *à la-mode*, as that of *Plato* during the First Ages of the Church: The *Pagans* interested themselves amongst all the different Sects of *Philosophers*; but the Conformity which *Plato's* was found to have with Religion, made almost all the knowing Christians

Christians of that Sect. Thence came the mighty Esteem they had of *Plato*: They looked upon him as a sort of Prophet who had fore-told many important Points of Christianity, especially that of the Holy Trinity; (which we cannot deny to be clearly enough contained in his Writings:) Nay, they went so far as to take his Works for Comments on the Scripture; and to conceive the Nature of the *Word*, as he conceived it. He represented *God* so elevated above his *Creatures*, that he did not believe that they were immediately made by his Hands; and therefore he put between them and him this *Word*, as a degree by which the Actions of *God* might pass down to *them*: The Christians had the like Idea of *Jesus Christ*: And this may perhaps be the Reason why no Heresie has been more generally received and maintained with greater heat than *Arrianism*.

This *Platonism* then (which seems, to Honour the Christian Religion by countenancing it) was very full of Notions about *Dæmons*: And thence

thence they easily pass'd into that Opinion which the old Christians had of *Oracles*.

Plato said, that *Dæmons* were of a middle Nature, between *God* and *Man*; that they were the aerial *Genii* appointed to hold a Commerce, between *God* and us; that altho they were near us, yet we cou'd not see them; that they penetrated into all our Thoughts; that they had a Love for the *Good*, and a Hatred for the *Bad*; and that it was for their Honour that such variety of Sacrifices, and so many different Ceremonies were appointed: But it does not at all appear, that *Plato* acknowledged any evil *Dæmons*, to which might be attributed the management of the Illusions of *Oracles*. *Plutarch*, notwithstanding, assures us, that *Plato* was not ignorant of them; and amongst the Platonical Philosophers, the thing is out of doubt. * *Eusebius* in his *E-*

Evangelical Preparations, recites a great Number of Passages out of *Porphyrius*, where that Pagan Philosopher assures us, that evil *Dæmons* are the

* *Dialogues of the ceasing of Oracles, Lib. 4, 5, 6.*

Authors of *Enchantments*, *Philtres* and *Witch-Crafts*; that they cheat our Eyes with *Spectres*, *Fantoms*, and *Apparitions*; that lying is Essential to their Nature; that they raise in us the greatest part of our Passions; and that they have an Ambition to pass with us for *Gods*; that their aerial and spiritual Bodies are nourished with Suffumigations, and with the Blood and Fat of Sacrifices; and that 'tis only these that imploy themselves in giving *Oracles*, and to whom this Task so full of Fraud is assign'd: in short at the Head of this Troop of evil *Dæmons* he places *Hecate* and *Serapis*.

Tertullian
in his *Apologies*.

Jamblichus, another *Platonist*, has said as much. And the greatest part of these things being true, the Christians received them all with Joy, and have added to them besides a little of their own: As for Example, that the *Dæmons* stole from the Writings of the Prophets some Knowledge of things to come; and so got Honour by it in their *Oracles*.

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This System of the ancient Christians had this Advantage, that it discovered to the *Pagans* by their own Principles, the Original of their false Worship, and the Source of those Errors which they always embraced. They were perswaded that there was something supernatural in their *Oracles*; and the Christians, who were always disputing against them, did not desire to confute this Opinion. Thus by *Dæmons* (which both Parties believed to be concerned in the *Oracles*,) they explicated all that was supernatural in them. They acknowledged indeed that this sort of ordinary Miracles were wrought in the *Pagan* Religion; but then they ruined this Advantage again, by imputing them to such Authors as evil Spirits. And this way of convincing, was more short and easie, than to contradict the Miracle it self, by a long Train of Enquiries and Arguments. Thus I have given you the manner how that Opinion which the first Ages of the Church had of the *Pagan Oracles*, was grounded, I might to the

three Reasons, which I have already brought, add a fourth of no less Authority perhaps than those: That is, That in the Supposition of *Oracles* being given by *Dæmons*, there is something miraculous: And if we consider the humor of Mankind a little, we shall find how much we are taken with any thing that is Miraculous. But I do not intend to enlarge my self on this Reflection; for those that think upon it, will easily believe me, and those that do not, will perhaps give it no credit, notwithstanding all my Arguments.

Let us now examine the several Reasons which Men have had to believe *Oracles* to be Supernatural.

C H A P. IV.

That the surprizing Histories of Oracles ought to be suspected.

IT is very difficult to give an Account of those Stories and *Oracles* which

which we have mentioned, without having Recourse to *Dæmons*. But the Question is, Whether they be true? Let us be assured of the Matter of Fact, before we trouble our selves with enquiring into the Cause. It is true, that this Method is too slow and dull for the greatest part of Mankind, who run naturally to the Cause, and pass over the truth of the matter of Fact; but for my part, I will not be so ridiculous as to find out a Cause for what is not.

This kind of Misfortune happened so pleasantly at the end of the last Age, to some Learned *Germans*, that cannot forbear speaking of it. "In the Year 1593, there was a Report that the Teeth of a Child of *Silesia* of seven Years old, dropp'd out, and that one of Gold came in the Place of one of his great Teeth. *Horstius*, a Physician in the University of *Helmstad*, wrote in the Year 1595 the History of this Tooth, and pretends that it was partly natural, and partly miraculous, and that it was sent from God

“to this Infant, to comfort the *Christians* who were then afflicted by the *Turks*. Now fanſie to your ſelf what a Conſolation this was, and what this Tooth could ſignifie, either to the *Christians* or the *Turks*. In the ſame Year (that this Tooth might not want for *Historians*) one *Rolandus* wrote a Book of it: Two Years after, *Ingolſteterus*, another Learned Man, wrote againſt the Opinion of *Rolandus* concerning this golden Tooth; and *Rolandus* preſently makes a Learned Reply. Another Great Man, named *Libavius*, collected all that had been ſaid of this Tooth, to which he added his own Opinion. In ſine there wanted nothing to ſo many famous Works, but only the truth of its being a golden Tooth. For when a Gold-Smith had examined it, he found, that it was only a thin Plate of Gold fixed to the Tooth with a great deal of Art. Thus they firſt went about to compile Books, and afterwards they conſulted the Gold-Smith.

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Nothing is more natural than to do the ſame thing in all other caſes. And I am not ſo convinc'd of our Ignorance by the things that are, and of which the Reaſons are unknown, as by thoſe which are not, and for which we yet find out Reaſons. That is to ſay, as we want thoſe Principles that lead us to truth, ſo we have thoſe which agree exceeding well with error and falſhood.

Some Learned Phyſicians have found out the reaſon why Places under Ground are hot in the Winter and cool in the Summer; and greater Phyſicians have ſince diſcover'd that they are not ſo.

Historical Enquiries are much more liable to this error. For when we argue from what is ſaid in History, what aſſurances have we that theſe *Historians* have never been byaſſed, nor credulous, nor miſinform'd, nor negligent? 'Tis neceſſary therefore that we ſhould look out for one, that has been an Eye-witneſs of all thoſe things of which he writes, unconcern'd by Intereſt, and diligent. But

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especially when Men write of such matters of Fact, as have a Relation to Religion, it is very hard not to favour (according to the party of which they are) a false Religion with those advantages that are not due to it; or not to give a true one those false assistances of which it has no need. And yet we may be assured that we can never add more truth to what is true already, nor make that true which is false.

Some Christians in the first Age, for want of having been convinced of this, Maxim have suffer'd themselves, in favour of Christianity, to introduce suppositions bold enough, which the sounder part of Christians have been fain afterwards to disown. This Inconsiderate zeal has produc'd a great number of Apocryphal Books, to which were given the Names of *Pagan* or *Jewish* Authors; for the Church, having to do with these two sorts of Enemies, what was more advantageous to her than to fight 'em with their own Weapons, by producing Books, which, tho' made,

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as was pretended, by their own party were written nevertheless very much in favour of Christianity? But whilst they strained the point too far, to draw from those counterfeit works some very great benefit to their Religion, they gained none at all; for the clearness of the manner in which they were written, betray'd them; and our Mysteries are therein so plainly unfolded, that the Prophets of the Old and New Testament understood nothing in comparison of those *Jewish* and *Pagan* Authors. And which way soever Men turn themselves to save the reputation of those Books, they will find in their too great clearness a difficulty not to be surmounted. If some Christians fathered spurious Books on *Pagans* and *Jews*, *Hereticks* found the way of doing the like on the Orthodox. There was nothing to be met with but false Gospels, false Epistles of the *Apostles*, and false Histories of their Lives; and nothing but an effect of the Divine Providence could have separated the truth from so many Apocryphal Works, as confounded it. Some

Some great Men of the Church have sometimes been deceived either by the spurious works of *Hereticks* fathered upon the Orthodox, or by what the Christians father upon the *Jews*; but ofteneft by the latter: For they feldom examine ftrictly enough that which feems favourable to Religion; the heat with which they conteft for fo good a Cause, not giving them the leifure to make a good Choice of their Weapons. This is the reason that they have hapned sometimes to make ufe of the Books of the *Sibyls* or of thofe of *Hermes Trismegiftus* King of *Egypt*.

We do not intend by this to weaken the Authority, or to lessen the Merit of thofe great Men. For after we fhall have examin'd all the errors, (into which perhaps they have fallen on fome certain fubjects,) there will yet remaine abundance of folid Reasonings, and very curious discoveries, which are worthy of our higheft Admiration. And if, with the true proofs of our Religion, they have left us others which may be fufpected, it

is our part to receive that only which is legitimate; and to pardon their zeal, who have furnifh'd us with more proofs than there was any neceffity for.

I am not at all surpriz'd that this fane Zeal has convinced 'em of the truth of I know not how many *Oracles*, advantageous to their Religion, which paffed for currant in the firft Ages of the Church. The Authors of the Books of the *Sibyls*, and thofe of *Hermes Trismegiftus*, were alfo probably the Authors of thefe *Oracles*; at leaft it was more eafie to feign them, than to counterfeit intire Volumes. The History of *Thamus* is Originally heathen, and yet *Eusebius* and other great Authors have given it the Reputation of being believed. It is immediately followed in *Plutarch* with a Relation fo ridiculous, that it will be fufficient wholly to difcredit the other. For *Demetrius* faies there, that the moft part of the Iflands near *England* are defert and Consecrated to *Dæmons* and *Heroes*, and that he, being fent by the Emperor to difcover thefe Iflands, chanced to land upon

on one of those that were Peopled, and that, a little time after his Arrival, there happen'd a Tempest and terrible claps of Thunder and Lightning, which made the People of the Country conclude that some one of their Principal *Dæmons* was dead; because their Death's were alwaies attended with something strange and horrible. To this *Demetrius* adds, that one of those Islands was the Prison of *Saturn* who was kept there by *Briareus*, and was Buried in a Profound sleep (which methinks should render the custody of the Giant very needless) incompass'd with an infinite number of *Dæmons* lying at his feet as slaves.

Has not *Demetrius* made a very curious Relation of this Voyage? And is it not pleasant to see such a Philosopher as *Plutarch* coldly relate to us such Wonderful things? It is not without reason that *Herodotus* is esteem'd the father of History; and all the *Greek* Writers of that kind are on that account his offspring, and partake of his *Genius*. They have somewhat of truth, but more of wonderful

ful and amusing stories. But let it be how it will, it were sufficient almost to refute the History of *Thamus* (tho it had no other defect) to have been found in the same Treatise with the *Dæmons* of *Demetrius*.

But besides this, it cannot receive a reasonable interpretation. For if the Great God *Pan* were a *Dæmon*, could not the *Dæmons* have sent one another an account of one of their Deaths, without employing *Thamus* to that end? Have they no other way of informing one another of news? And, on the other side, can they be so imprudent as to discover to Men their Misfortunes and the weakness of their Natures? *God* compell'd 'em, perhaps, you will say. Then *God* had some design in doing so; But let us see what follow'd thereupon; there was no Person that was converted from *Paganism* by having heard of the Death of the great God *Pan*. It was declared that he was the Són of *Mercury* and *Penelope*, and that it was not he that was acknowledg'd in *Acadia* for supream God of all (as his Name

Name imports;) and therefore tho' the voice had named him the great *Pan*, yet he was understood to be but the little *Pan*, whose Death was of no great consequence, and there did not appear any considerable regret for it.

If this great *Pan* were *Jesus Christ*, the *Dæmons* would not have told to Men news of a death so much to their advantage, unless God had compell'd 'em to it. But what's the effect of all this? did any one understand the Name of *Pan*, in its true sense? *Plutarch* liv'd in the second Age of the Church, and yet no Person then knew that *Pan* was *Jesus Christ*, who died in *Judea*.

The History of *Thulis* is related by *Suidas* (an Author who heaps up a great many things, perhaps ill enough chosen) His Oracle of *Serapis* is reproach'd with the same fault, as the Books of the *Sibyls*; that is, of being too clear concerning our Mysteries. And farther, we are certain that this *Thulis* King of *Egypt* was not one of the *Ptolomyes*; and what then

then will become of the whole Oracle, if *Serapis* were a God first brought into *Egypt* by a *Ptolomy*, who sent for him out of *Pontus*, as many Learned Men pretend from very strange probabilities? at least it is certain that *Herodotus*, who has written so plentifully about old *Egypt*, does not mention *Serapis*, and that *Tacitus* recounts at length how and why one of the *Ptolomyes* brought from *Pontus* the God *Serapis*, that was then known no where else.

The Oracle, said to be given to *Augustus* concerning the *Hebrew Child*, is by no means to be recieved. *Cedrenus* cites *Eusebius* for it; but at this day there is no such thing to be found there. It is not impossible that *Cedrenus* should make a false Citation, or should cite some work not rightly attributed to *Eusebius*. He has thought fit to relate upon the credit of certain counterfeit Histories of *St. Peter*, which pass'd for currant in his time, That *Simon* the Magician had at his door a great Dog, which devour'd all those that his Master would not

not have enter; and that St. *Peter* coming thither to speak with *Simon*, commanded the Dog to go and tell his Master in Humane Language, That *Peter* the servant of God, would speak with him: The *Dog* went and performed that Command, to the great Amazement of such as were then with *Simon*. But *Simon*, to shew that he could do as much as St. *Peter*, bid the *Dog* go and tell him, That he might Enter: which the *Dog* immediately did. Hence you may see what it is that the *Greeks* call writing of History. *Cedrenus* lived in an ignorant Age, when the liberty of writing Fables was joined with the General inclination of the *Greeks* towards 'em.

But tho' *Eusebius*, in some work of his, which has not come down to us, had effectually spoke of the Oracle of *Augustus*, yet we find *Eusebius* himself is sometimes deceived; of which there are good proofs. The first Defenders of Christianity, *Justin*, *Tertullian*, *Theophilus*, *Tatian*, would they have said nothing of an Oracle

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so much in Favour of their Religion? Had they so little Zeal as to neglect a thing of such Advantage? but even * those that give us this Oracle, spoil it by adding, that *Augustus* in his Return to *Rome*, built in the Capitol an Altar with this Inscription, *This is the Altar of the only Son (or Eldest Son) of God*. Where had he the Idea of this only Son of God, of which the Oracle makes no mention? In short, that which is most observable, is, that *Augustus* after the Voyage he made into *Greece*, nineteen Years before the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, never returned to *Rome*; but allowing that he did, he was not then in an Humor to erect Altars to any God but himself: For he suffered not only the * *Asian* Maids to raise Altars to him, and celebrate holy Games in his Honour; but also at *Rome* they consecrated one to *Fortune Returning*, *Fortunæ reduci*, that was, to say, to himself, and they were to keep the day of his happy return as a festival.

* *Credennus*, *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*.

* *Tacitus*, *Dion Cassius*.

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The *Oracles*, which *Eusebius* relates out of *Porphyrus*, appear harder to make out than all the rest: for *Eusebius* would not have charged *Porphyrus* with *Oracles* of which he made no mention, and *Porphyrus*, who was so addicted to *Paganism*, would not have cited false *Oracles* (concerning the Cessation of *Oracles* themselves) to the Advantage of the *Christian Religion*: For in this Case, it seems, that the Testimony of an Enemy has a great deal of Credit and Force.

But on the other side, *Porphyrus* was not so unskilful a Man, as to furnish the *Christians* with Weapons against *Paganism*, without being necessarily engaged to it by the Consequence of some Reasons, which does not in this matter appear to be his Case. If these *Oracles* had been acknowledged by the *Christians*, and *Porphyrus* owning that they were effectually given, had denied the Consequences drawn from them, it is certain that they would have then been much to be relied on.

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But it is out of *Porphyrus* himself that the *Christians* (as it appears by the Example of *Eusebius*) pretend to fetch these *Oracles*; it seems, that *Porphyrus* takes Pleasure to ruin his own *Religion*, and to establish another. The Truth is, this is suspicious of it self, and yet it becomes more so, by his pushing the thing so far; for they tell us from him of I know not how many *Oracles* most clear and most positive, concerning the Person of *Jesus Christ*, concerning his Resurrection and Ascension. In fine, the most resolute, and knowing amongst the *Pagans* hath loaded us with Proofs of Christianity; we may well suspect so great a piece of Generosity.

Eusebius believed it a very great Advantage to be able to place *Porphyrus* at the Head of a Multitude of *Oracles* so favourable to Religion; and he gives them us stripp'd of what ever accompanies them, in the Writings of *Porphyrus*. How do we know, but that he did refute them? According to the Interest of his Cause,

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he ought to have done it ; and if he did not do it, certainly he had some hidden Intention.

It is to be suspected , that *Porphyrius* was wicked enough to frame false *Oracles* , and present them to Christians, with a Design of making Sport with their Credulity, if they should receive them for true, and endeavour to strengthen their Religion by such like props : And then he would have drawn thence such Consequences as would be of greater Importance than these *Oracles*, and with this instance have attacked the whole Religion. However at the botom this would have been but a frivolous Argument.

'Tis very certain, that this same *Porphyrius* (who furnisheth us with all these *Oracles*) held, (as we have seen) that they were delivered by lying *Spirits* ; it may very well then be imagined, that he hath put into *Oracles* all the Mysteries of our Religion, endeavouring to destroy it by rendring it suspected of Forgery, as depending on the Testimony of
false

false Witnesses : I know the *Christians* did not take it so ; yet seeing they could never prove by any Argument , that the *Demons* were sometimes forced to speak the Truth, *Porphyrius* was always in a condition to make use of his *Oracles* against them. And therefore (if we take the Matter right) their better way had been to have denied, that there were ever any *Oracles*, as we do at this present. This appears to me to be a sufficient Reason, why *Porphyrius* was so prodigal of *Oracles*, that were so favourable to our Religion. But what would have been the Success of the great debate between the *Christians* and *Infidels*, we can only conjecture ; for all the written pieces of their Disputes are not come to our Hands. Thus in examining things a little closer than ordinary, we find that the *Oracles*, which were reckoned such Wonders, never were at all ; of which, I shall not need to give any more Instances, all the rest being of the same Nature.

C H A P. V.

That the common Opinion concerning Oracles does not agree so well as 'tis imagin'd with the Christian Religion.

TH E silence of the Scriptures concerning these evil *Dæmons*, (which are Pretended to be the managers of *Oracles*) hath not only left us at liberty to believe nothing of 'em, but it obliges us to believe the contrary; for can it be possible that the *Scriptures* should not have instructed the *Jews* and *Christians* in a thing which it so extremely imported them to know, (and which they cou'd never have found out by their natural Reason) to the end that they might not be shaken in their own Religion, by seeing things so surprising in another. For I conceive that God spake not to Man, but to supply the weakness

ness of his understanding, which of it self was not sufficient to guide him; and that whatsoever he has not declar'd to him, is either of such a nature that he may learn it by himself, or else God does not think it necessary that he should know it. So if the *Oracles* had been deliver'd by evil *Dæmons*, God would have made it known to us, to have prevented us from believing that he himself deliver'd 'em, or that there was something Divine in false Religions.

David reproached the *Infidels* with *Gods* that had mouths and spake not, and wishes that their Adorers, for a punishment, might become like those they Ador'd; but if these *Gods* had not only the use of Speech, but also the knowledge of things to come, I see no reason *David* had thus to reproach the *Infidels*; nor ought they to have been angry for having been resembled to their *Gods*. When the Holy Fathers inveighed with so much reason against the Worship of *Idols*, they alwaies argu'd from the impotency of 'em; but if they had

spoken, if they had predicted things to come, then they ought not to have treated them with such contempt on the account of their impotency, but thou'd rather have disabus'd the People, and have confess'd the wonderous Power that was in 'em: In fine, could they be so mightly mistaken who ador'd what they believed was animated by a Divine vertue, or at least a vertue more than humane. 'Tis true, you'll say, that these *Dæmons* were enemies of *God*, but how cou'd the *Heathens* Divine that? Because *Dæmons* required ceremonies that were Barbarous and extravagant, the *Pagans* themselves believ'd 'em fantastical and cruel, but nevertheless they believ'd 'em more powerful than Men; nor did they know that the true *God* offer'd 'em his protection against them. They did for the most part submit themselves to their Gods as to dreaded enemies who were to be appeased at any Price; nor had this submission and fear been quite without Reason, if so be that in effect *Dæmons* did give some proof of their
Power

power over nature. In fine, *Paganism* (tho a Worship abominable in the sight of *God*) would have been but an involuntary and excusable error.

But you will say, if the crafty Priests made it their business to impose upon the People, then *Paganism* was no more but a simple error into which the credulous fell, whilst their honest and downright intention was to Honour a superior being.

But the case is much otherwise; for it behoves Men to precaution themselves against errors, into which other Men may lead 'em; but there is no possibility of fore-arming themselves against those errors into which they may be led by *Genii*, or *Dæmons* which are above themselves. The light of my Reason is sufficient to examine whether a statue speaks or does not, but in the moment that it does speak, nothing can persuade me against the Divinity which I attribute to it. In a word, *God* is oblig'd by the Laws of his Bounty to protect me from those surprises from which I cannot defend my self; but
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as for other things, it belongs to my reason to do its office.

We see also that when God permitted the *Dæmons* to work prodigies, he at the same time confounded them by working miracles far greater. *Pharaoh* might be deceived by the *Magicians*, but *Moses* was still more powerful than the *Magicians* of *Pharaoh*. The *Dæmons* never had more power or did more surprizing things, than in the time of *Jesus Christ* and the *Apostles*. This hinders not, but that *Paganism* with justice hath been alwaies called the worship of *Dæmons*. For in the first place the *Idea* which is taken therein of the Divinity, does not at all agree with the true *God*, but with the reprobate and eternally unhappy *Genii*.

Secondly, the design of the Heathens was not so much to adore the first Being which is the source of all good, but those ill Beings of whose anger and caprice they stood in fear. In fine, the *Dæmons*, (who have without contradiction the power of tempting Men and laying snares for 'em)

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countenanced as much as ever they could the gross errors of the *Pagans*, and made 'em blind to impostures, which were notoriously visible. From hence it is said that *Paganism* was not born up by the Miracles, but by the Artifices of *Dæmons*; which supposes that in whatever they did there was nothing of reality or truth, nor of such force as effectually to make a *Statue* speak.

Nevertheless, it may be that *God* has sometimes permitted the *Dæmons* to animate *Idols*; but if this ever happen'd, *God* had his peculiar reasons for it, which are alwaies worthy of profound veneration; But generally speaking, there has never been any such thing. *God* permitted the *Devil* to burn the Houses of *Job*, and lay his Pastures desolate; to cause all his *Oxen* and *Sheep* to Die, to strike his Body with a thousand wounds, but it must not therefore be said that the *Devil* is let loose on all those to whom such misfortunes happen. When there is a discourse about any Man's being sick or ruin'd we never

ver think that the *Devil* is concern'd in it. The case of *Job* is a particular case; we argue Independently of it, and our general reasoning never excludes the exceptions that the Almighty power of God can make in all things.

'Tis apparent then that the common opinion concerning *Oracles*, does not very well agree with the bounty of God, and that it discharges *Paganism* of the greatest Part of the extravagances and Abominations which the Holy Fathers alwaies found in it. The *Pagans* might have said in their own justification, that it was no wonder, that they shou'd obey those which animated *Statues*, and performed every day a thousand extraordinary things; and therefore the *Christians* to take from them all excuse, ought never to have yielded 'em this Point. If all the *Pagan Religion* were no other than the cheats of Priests, *Christians* took advantage of the excess of ridiculousness into which the *Pagans* fell.

Besides, is there any great appearance

ance that the disputes between the *Christians* and *Pagans* was in that state, seeing *Porphyrius* confesses with so much willingness, that the *Oracles* were delivered by evil *Dæmons*? Of these evil *Dæmons* he made a double use: He made use of 'em (as we have already seen) to render those *Oracles* unprofitable and disadvantageous to the *Christian Religion*, which the *Christians* thought were on their side; and besides he imputed all the follies and Barbarities of an infinite number of sacrifices, which without ceasing they reproach'd the *Pagans* withal, to these cunning and cruel *Genii*. We then attack *Porphyrius* even in his last retrenchments, and assert the true interest of *Christianity*, by undertaking to prove that *Dæmons* were not the Authors of *Oracles*.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

That Dæmons are not sufficiently
establish'd by Platonism.

IN the first Ages, *Poetry* and *Philosophy* were the same thing, and all Wisdom was contained in Verse. Nor was Poetry more credited by this Alliance, but *Philosophy* was less. *Homer* and *Hesiod* were the first *Grecian Philosophers*; and thence it is that all other *Philosophers*, have had in very great Estimation what ever they said, and have never cited them but with great Honour.

Homer very often confounds together the Gods and *Dæmons*: But *Hesiod* distinguishes four species or kinds of reasonable Natures, viz. the Gods, the *Dæmons*, the *Demy-Gods* or *Heroes*, and *Men*. Nay, he goes farther yet, and notes the Duration of the Lives of *Dæmons*: For the *Nymphs*,
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of which he speaks in the Place I am going to cite, are these *Dæmons*, and *Plutarch* understands them so.

A Crow, (says *Hesiod*) lives nine times as long as a Man, a Stag four times as long as a Crow, a Raven three times as long as a Stag, the *Phænix* nine times as long as a Raven; and in fine the *Nymphs* ten times as long as the *Phænix*. One would take this Calculation for no other than a mere Poetick Fancy, unworthy the Reflections of a *Philosopher*, or the imitation of a Poet; for there is in it neither agreeableness nor truth: But *Plutarch* is not of this Opinion; for he finds, that supposing the Life of Man to be seventy Years, (which is its ordinary Duration,) the *Dæmons* then ought to live six hundred and eighty thousand, and four hundred Years: And not conceiving how any Experiment of this so long Life of the *Dæmons* can be made, he rather believes that *Hesiod* by the Age of Man, understands but one Year. The Interpretation is not very natural; but according to this Estimation; the
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Life of the *Dæmons* is not above nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty Years, and then *Plutarch* had not much Trouble to find out how *Dæmons* could live so long. And besides, he remarks in the Number of nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty Years, certain *Pythagorean* Perfections, which render it altogether worthy to design the Term of the Lives of *Dæmons*. Such as these are the boasted reasonings of Antiquity.

From the Poems of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, the *Dæmons* passed into the Philosophy of *Plato*, who can never be too much commended, since 'tis he of all the *Greeks*, who has conceived the highest *Idea* of *God*; tho even that plunged him in false Notions. For, because *God* is infinitely elevated above *Men*, he believed that there ought to be placed between him and us, a kind of middle *Beings*, which should cause a Communication of two Extremes so far distant, by the means of which, the Operations of the Deity might be brought down to us. *God* (says he) resembles

bles a *Triangle*, which has three *Sides* equal, the *Dæmons* are like a *Triangle* that has but two *Sides* equal, and *Men* are like a *Triangle* which has all three *Sides* unequal.

This *Idea* is well enough fancied, and there is nothing wanting but something of Solidity to support it.

But after all (may it be said) has not *Plato* reasoned justly? And do not we know for certain by the *Holy Scriptures*, that there are *Genii*, Ministers of the Will of *God* and his Messengers to *Men*? Is it not wonderful that *Plato* should discover this, only by the Light of his natural Reason?

I confess, that *Plato* has conjectured aright; nevertheless, I blame him for his Conjecture. Divine Revelation assures us of the Existence of *Angels* and *Dæmons*, but it is not within the Sphere of humane Reason to assure us of it. He knows not what to make of the infinite space which is between *God* and *Man*, and therefore he fills it with *Genii* and *Dæmons*. But with what shall that infinite space

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be fill'd, which is between *God* and these *Genii* or *Dæmons* themselves? For the distance between *God* and any Creature whatsoever, is infinite. And if the Actions and Will of *God* must traverse, as one may say, this Infinite *Vacuum* to go to the *Dæmons*, they may as well reach even to *Men*, since *they* are farther off but by very few degrees, which bear no Proportion to the *first great distance*. When *God* treats with *Men* by the Ministry of *Angels*, 'tis not to be understood that *Angels* are necessary for this Communication (as *Plato* pretends;) *God* employs them for Reasons, into which *Philosophy* can never penetrate, and which can never be perfectly known but by himself.

According to that *Idea*, which the Comparison of the *Triangle* gives us, we find that *Plato* framed this Notion of *Dæmons*, to the end we might mount from one Creature, to another Creature more perfect, till at length we arriv'd at *God* himself. So that *God* would have but some degrees of Perfection more than the highest

highest Creature; but it is visible, that as they are all infinitely Imperfect in respect of *him*, because they are all infinitely distant from him; so the Differences of Perfection, which are between the Creatures, vanish as soon as they are compared with *God*; for what elevates them one above another does not at all bear any proportion to him.

And if we consult nothing but humane Reason, there is no need of *Spirits* to make the Actions of *God* communicable to *Men*, nor of placing between *God* and us any thing that approaches *him* nearer than we do.

And perhaps *Plato* himself was not so sure of the Existence of his *Dæmons*, as the *Platonists* have since been. That which makes me suspect this, is, That he places *Love* in the Number of the *Dæmons*, (for he often mixes Gallantry with *Philosophy*, and his Talent is not mean on subjects of that Nature.) He says, that *Love* is the Son of the *God of Riches*, and the Goddess of *Poverty*: from his Father he holds, his greatness of *Courage*, his Elevation of thought,

thought, his Inclination to give, his Prodigality and his Confidence in his Strength, his good Opinion of his own Merit, and Desire to have always the Preference. But, on the other side, he holds from his Mother that Indigence, which makes him always asking, that Importunity with which he asks, that Timidity and Bashfulness, which hinders him often times from daring to ask, that Disposition which he has to Servitude, and that Fear of being despised, which he can never lose. This, in my Opinion, is one of the prettiest Fables that was ever made. It is pleasant to find *Plato* sometimes writing *Amours* as soft and agreeable as *Anacreon* could himself have done. This Description of the Pedegree of Love extremely well sets forth all the fantasticalness of his Nature: But we know not what to make of *Dæmons*, if Love must pass for one.

There is no appearance that *Plato* understood this in a natural and Philosophical Sence, nor that he could say, *Love* was a Being out of us, or extrinssecal,

extrinssecal, which inhabits the Air: Certainly, he means this only as a Gallantry, and then it must be permitted me to believe, that all his *Dæmons* are of the same kind with *Love*. And that, since he mingles Fables with his System, he cares not much, if the rest of his System pass for a Fable. Hitherto we have only answered the Reasons, that made Men believe *Oracles*, to have had something in them of Supernatural. Let us now begin more closely to attack this Opinion.

C H H P. VII.

That some Grand Sects of the Pagan Philosophers, did not believe there was any thing Supernatural in Oracles.

IF in the midst of *Greece* it self, where all places resounded with their *Oracles*, we had maintained

that they were but Impostures, no one would have been astonished with the Boldness of the *Paradox*; and there would have been no need of taking any Measures, how to vend the Opinion in secret. For *Philosophers* were divided about the Subject of *Oracles*; the *Platonists* and *Stoicks* were for them, but the *Cynicks*, *Peripateticks* and *Epicureans* declared highly against them. The Wonders of the *Oracles* were not so great, but that half the Wise Men of *Greece*, were still at Liberty to believe nothing of them; and this, notwithstanding the common Prejudices or Bigotry of the *Grecians*: Which is a very remarkable thing.

* Lib. 4. of
his E-
vang. Pre-
parations.

* *Eusebius*, tells us of six hundred *Heathen* Authors, who have writ against the *Oracles*: But of all these, in my Opinion, *Oenomaus*, (of whom he makes mention, and of whom he has preserved some Fragments) is one, the Loss of whose Works are to be the most lamented. There is a great deal of Pleasure to be found in those Fragments of his that re-
main,

main, where *Oenomaus*, full of his Cynical Liberty, argues upon every *Oracle* against the *God* who delivered it, and draws up an Accusation against him. See how he treats the *God of Delphos*, who in his Answer to *Cræsus* had pronounced these Words:

Cræsus, in passing the River Halis, shall destroy a great Empire.

Which fell out accordingly; for *Cræsus* passing the River *Halis* attack'd *Cyrus*, who (as all the World knows) came thundring upon him, and divested him of his Kingdoms.

You boast, (says Oenomaus to Apollo) in another Oracle delivered to Cræsus, that you know the Number of the Grains of the Sea Sand; and I suppose, you set a great Value upon your self, because you saw from Delphos, the Tortoise, that Cræsus ordered to be boiled in Lydia, at that very instant; this is a precious Knowledge to be proud of! But when you were consulted, concerning the Success of the War between Cræsus and Cyrus, there you

were at a stand. If you can divine what shall happen in time to come, to what purpose do you make use of a manner of speaking which cannot be understood: do you not foresee your self that they will not be understood: if you do foresee it, you then take pleasure to make us your sport; if you do not know it, let us inform you that you ought to speak more clearly, and that you are not understood.

I tell you also, if you have a mind to use an Equivocation, that the Greek words by which you express, that Croesus shall destroy a great Empire, are not well chosen, and that they can signify nothing else but a victory of Croesus over Cyrus. If there be a necessity that things must happen, wherefore dost thou amuse us with thy Ambiguities? what dost thou do at Delphos, (unhappily employ'd as thou art) to sing us useless Prophecies? to what purpose do we make thee so many Sacrifices? what fury possesses us?

But Oenomaus is yet more out of humour with the Oracle, which Apollo deliver'd to the Athenians. When Xerxes fell upon Greece with all the forces

forces of Asia, the Pythian Oracle gave 'em for answer,

"That Minerva Protectress of Athens endeavour'd all manner of waies (but in vain) to appease the anger of Jupiter; but nevertheless Jupiter in favour of his Daughter, consented to suffer the Athenians to save themselves in walls of wood; and that Salamine shou'd see the Destruction of many Children dear to their Mothers; either when Ceres shou'd be scattered abroad or when she should be gathered in.

Upon this Oenomaus wholly loses his Respect for the God of Delphos.

This combat between the Father and the Daughter, saies he, is very unhandfom for Gods. 'Tis very pretty there should be in Heaven such contrary interests and inclinations? Jupiter is angry with Athens, he brings down all the forces of Asia against it; but if he could not have ruin'd it without 'em, if he had no more Thunder left, if he was reduc'd to borrow fo-

foreign forces, how had he it then in his Power to make all the forces of Asia come down against this Town? Yet after this he suffers 'em to save themselves in Walls of Wood; on whom then was his Anger to fall? what, on the Stones? Rare Diviner! you know not whom these Children shall be that Salamine shall see the destruction of, whether Greeks or Persians; it cannot be avoided but they must be either one or t'other Army; and do not you at least know, that we shall soon see you know nothing? you conceal the time of Battel under these Poetical expressions, When Ceres shall be scatter'd, or when she shall be gather'd in. You are willing to blind us with this Pompous Language; but does not every body know that a Naval Battel is never fought but either in Seed time or Harvest; doubtless it will not be in Winter. But let what will happen you will get your self off by the means of this Jupiter, whom Minerva endeavours to appease; if the Grecians loose the Battel, Jupiter is then Inexorable; if they gain it, then Jupiter suffer'd him-

himself to be appeas'd. And (Apollo) when you say, let 'em fly to Walls of Wood, you counsel, you do not Devine. I, who know not what Devining is, cou'd have said as much as this, and cou'd have judg'd as well, that the fury of the War wou'd fall upon Athens; and that since the Athenians had Ships, the best thing they cou'd do, was to abandon the Town and betake themselves to the Sea.

Such was the veneration that some great sects of the Philosophers had for Oracles, and for those very Gods they thought the Authors of 'em. 'Tis very pleasant that all the Pagan Religion was no more than this one Problem of Philosophy; it is necessary to know whether the Gods take care of Men, or not, before the question can be answered, whether we ought to Adore 'em, or neglect 'em; the People have already decided it, and are for Adoration, and nothing is to be seen but Temples and Sacrifices; but great Sects of the Philosophers maintain publickly that

that these *Sacrifices*, these *Temples*, these *Adorations*, are as so many fruitless and unprofitable things; and that the Gods are so far from delighting in 'em, that they take no cognizance of 'em. There is scarce a *Greek* who does not consult the *Oracles* concerning his affairs; but this does not prevent their being treated in three great Schools of *Philosophy* as absolute impostures.

Let me beg leave to carry this reflection a little farther, which may serve to lay more open the *Pagan Religion*; the *Grecians* in general had a great deal of Wit, but they were very light, curious, unquiet, and uncapable of moderation in any thing; and, to tell my whole opinion of 'em, they had so much Wit, that their Reason suffer'd by it. The *Romans* had quite another Character; they were Solid, Serious, and Industrious, they knew how to pursue a design and could foresee at a great distance the consequences of it. I should not be surpris'd that the *Grecians* (without thinking of the result

sult of things) shou'd impertinently treat *pro* and *con* of every thing; and at the same time that they are making *Sacrifices*, dispute whether or no these *Sacrifices* approach the *Gods*; and consult *Oracles* without being assur'd whether they are meer Illusions or not. Doubtless the *Philosophers* concern'd themselves so little in the Government, that they took no care not to shock Religion in their disputes; and perhaps the People had not faith enough in the *Philosophers* to abandon their Religion or change any thing in it upon their word. In fine, the predominant passion in the *Greeks* was to discourse on all matters at any rate: yet doubtless it is more astonishing to find that the *Romans*, and those the ablest amongst them too, and who knew best of what consequence Religion was to politicks, durst publish works that did not only call their Religion in question, but also turn'd it into ridicule. I speak of *Cicero*, who in his Books of *Divination* has spar'd nothing of what was most

most Sacred at Rome. After he had made it evident enough to his very adversaries, how great a folly 'twas to consult the entrails of *Beasts*, he drives them at last to this answer: That the *Gods*, who are Almighty, change these entrails in the very moment of the Sacrifice, to the end that we shou'd by them know their pleasure in things to come. This answer was given by *Chrysippus*, by *Antipater* and *Possidonius*, all great *Philosophers* and chief of the Party of the *Stoicks*. Ha! what say you? crys *Cicero*: the very old Women are not so credulous as you are. Can you believe (says he) that the same Calf has the Liver well dispos'd, if chosen for the Sacrifice by one, and ill dispos'd, if chosen by another? Can this disposition of the Liver be chang'd in an instant, to accomodate it self to the fortune of those that sacrifice? see you not, that it is chance that makes the choice of victims? does not experience tell you so? for it oftentimes happens that the entrails of one victim may foretel something that is unfor-

unfortunate and terrible, and those which are immediately after sacrific'd foretel most happy events. What then becomes of the menaces of these first entrails? What! are the *Gods* so soon Appeas'd? But you'll reply, that in a Bull, which *Cæsar* was sacrificing, there was no heart found; and since this Animal cou'd not live without a Heart, it must of necessity be, that the Heart vanish'd just in the moment of the Sacrifice. Is it possible that you shou'd have sense enough to know that this Bull cou'd not live without an Heart, and yet have not enough to perceive that this heart cou'd not vanish in a moment, I know not whither. And a little after he adds; Believe me, you ruine all Physicks by defending the Art of Sooth-sayers: for then it is not the ordinary course of Nature that gives Birth and Death to all things: and there are some Bodies which come from nothing and shall return to nothing. What Naturalist ever held this opinion?

I cite this passage of *Cicero's*, but as an example of the extream liberty

ty with which he insulted over that Religion which he himself profess'd. In a thousand other places he shows no more favour to Sacred *Fowls*, the flights of *Birds*, and all the Miracles with which the Annals of the chief *Priest* were fill'd. Why did they not Indict him for his Impiety? Why did not all the People regard him with horror? Why did not all the College of *Priests* rise up against him? But we have reason to believe that among the *Pagans*, Religion was a practice, the speculation of which was very indifferent. They did as others did, but believ'd what they themselves pleas'd. This principle is very extravagant; but the People who knew nothing of the impertinency of it, were content with it; and the *Philosophers* submitted to it very willingly, because it gave them freedom enough.

So that we may see that all the *Pagan Religion* was meer Ceremony, in which the mind bore no part. The *Gods* are angry, their Thunder is ready to be discharg'd, how shall they be
Ap-

appeas'd? Must we repent us of the crimes we have committed? Must we re-enter into the paths of that natural Justice which ought to be among all Men? Not at all; we need only take a *Calf* of such a colour, calv'd at such a time, and cut the Throat of it with such a knife, and this will disarm the wrath of all the *Gods*: Nay farther, it is permitted you to laugh at the *Sacrifice*, if you have a mind to it; 'twill go never the worse with you.

Probably 'twas so also, with the *Oracles*: every one believ'd, that wou'd; however they ceas'd not to consult 'em. So great a force custom has over the minds of Men, that there is no need of Reason to join with it.

F

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

That other Men besides Philosophers have had little esteem for Oracles.

* Herodot. Book the first.

HISTORIES are full of Oracles, which were either despis'd by those who receiv'd 'em, or alter'd according to their fancy. * *Pactias* a Lydian, and subject of the Persians, being fled to *Cuma* a Greek Town, the Persians sent to have him deliver'd up; the *Cumeans* presently consult the Oracles of the *Branchides*, to know what they ought to do with him; the Oracle answered, that they shou'd deliver up *Pactias*. *Aristodicus* one of the Principal *Cumeans*, who was not of this mind, obtained through his credit, that they should send a second time to the Oracle, and caus'd himself to be made one of the Deputies; but the Oracle made the same answer it had done before. *Aristodicus* unsatisfied

satisfied with this, as he was walking about the Temple endeavoured to fright away certain little *Birds* which were building their Nests there; whereupon he presently heard a voice from the Sanctuary, crying, *Detestable Mortal, how dare you fright from this place, those who are under my protection? And yet, great God, (replied Aristodicus) you Order us to expel Pactias, who is under ours? Tes (answered the God) I do order it, to the end that you who are an Impious People, may be the sooner destroyed, and that you may come no more hither to Importune me with your Questions.* It seems by this that the God was press'd home, since he had recourse to railing; but it appears also that *Aristodicus* did not overmuch believe that it was a God who gave these Oracles, because he went about to entrap him by the comparison of the *Birds*, and after he had in effect trap'd him, 'tis likely that he believ'd him less a God than he did before. The *Cumeans* themselves were not much perswaded of his being a

F 2 Deity,

Deity, since they believed a second deputation might obtain a contrary answer, or that at least the God might consider of what he had to say. By the way I observe that *Aristodicus*, when he laid his snare for the God could not but foresee that they would not let him fright away the *Birds* from so Holy a Sanctuary without saying any thing to him; and that the *Priests* were extremely jealous of the honour of their Temples.

*Herodot.
Lib. 5.

The People of *Egina** had ravag'd the Coast of *Attica*, and the *Athenians* prepar'd themselves for an Expedition against them; at what time there came an Oracle from *Delphos*, threatening 'em with utter ruine in case they made War with those of *Ægina*, within the compass of thirty years; but when those thirty years were past, they were only to build a Temple to *Æacus* and to undertake the War, and then all things wou'd succeed well. The *Athenians*, who burnt with a desire of Revenge, split the Oracle in half, and took notice of that part

part of it only, which related to the Temple of *Æacus*, which they built out of Hand; but as to the thirty Years, they slighted that, and applyed themselves immediately to attack the *Ægineans*, and obtained all the Advantages imaginable. This was not a particular Person, who had so little Regard for the Authority of Oracles, but a whole Common-wealth, and that a very superstitious one too.

It is not very easie, to tell what kind of regard the *Pagans* had for their Religion; For we said a little while ago, that they contented themselves with the outward Respect, which their *Philosophers* paid to the Oracles; but this was not always so; for I am not certain, that *Socrates* refused to offer Incense to the Gods, or behaved himself like other People at the Publick Festivals; but this I am sure of, that the Rabble accused him of Atheism, though they could only guess at his Opinion in this Point; for he never openly explained himself. The People knew well enough

what was taught publicly in the Schools of *Philosophers*; how then could they suffer Opinions, contrary to the Established Worship (and often-times even against the Existence of the *Gods*) to be there maintained? At least, they knew perfectly well, what was play'd upon the Theaters; for those shows were made for them: and it is sure the *Gods* were never treated with less Respect, than in the *Comedies* of *Aristophanes*. *Mercury* in his *Plutus* complains that sight was restored to the *God* of Riches, who had till that time been blind, and that *Plutus* now beginning equally to favour all the World, the other *Gods* (to whom People no longer made Sacrifices to obtain Wealth) were starved for Hunger: And *Mercury* carries the Humor on so far, as to look out for some mean Employment in a Citizen's House, that he might have Meat and Drink. The *Birds* of *Aristophanes* are also very bold. All the Comedy turns upon this, That a certain City of Birds, which was
designed

designed to be built in the Air, would interrupt the Trade and Correspondence that was carried on between the Gods and Men; and by rendering the Birds Masters of all, would reduce the Gods to the utmost Misery: I leave you to judge, if this be not mighty devout. Yet this was the same *Aristophanes*, who endeavoured to excite the Rabble against the pretended Impiety of *Socrates*: There is therefore something, which I know not how to express, that is often found in the Affairs of this World. And it is apparent by these Examples, and may be made so by an Infinity of others, if there were Occasion, that the People were sometimes in a Humor to hear with delight their Religion rallied upon, and turned into a Jest; and if they observed Ceremonies, it was only to free themselves from those Inconveniences which attend an open neglect of them; but 'tis evident, that at the bottom, they had not overmuch Faith in them: And they had just the same Respect for *Oracles*: For

most commonly, they consulted them, that they might have no more Occasion to consult them; and if the Answers were not accommodated to their Designs, they did not much trouble themselves to obey them; for perhaps, it was no constant Opinion even amongst the common People, that *Oracles* were delivered by a Divine Power.

After all this, it would be unnecessary to mention the Histories of those great Captains, who thought it no Crime, to reckon themselves above both *Oracles* and *Auguries*. And what is most remarkable, is, that this dis-esteem of Religion was practised even in the first Ages of the *Roman* Common-wealth: In those times of happy Ignorance, when Men were so scrupulously fond of their Religion, and when (as *Titus Livius* says in a Place, which I am going to cite) *Philosophy*, which taught Men to despise the Gods, was not yet known.

* *Liv. lib.*
10.

* *Papirius* made War with the *Samnites*, and in a certain conjuncture

cture of time, when the *Roman* Army with an extreme ardor, desired to come to a Battel, the sacred Chickens (forsooth) must be consulted; but the earnestness to fight was so general, that though the Chickens eat nothing at all, when they put them out of the Coop, yet those, who were appointed to observe the *Augury*, reported to the *Consul*, that they had eaten very well: Upon this, the *Consul* promised to his Souldiers both a Battel and Victory. But however secret this *Augury* was kept, the deceit broke out at last, and there arose a great Contest amongst the Keepers of the Chickens, about the false report that was made: The noise of which came to the ears of *Papirius*, who said, that for his Part, he had received a very favourable *Augury*, and that he was satisfied with it, and if what was told him were untrue, let those, whose Business it was to take the *Augury*, look to it; for all the evil would fall upon their Heads. Immediately therefore he ordered, that those unhappy

happy People, the Keepers of the Sacred Chickens should be placed in the first Ranks, and so before the signal of the Battel was given, an Arrow (from whence shot none knew) pierced that poor unlucky Keeper who had given a false account of the *Augury*; as soon as the *Consul* heard this News, he cried out aloud—*The Gods are here present: The Criminal is punish'd: They have discharged all their Anger on him, who deserved it, and we have now all the Reason in the World to hope the best.* Then immediately, he caused the Signal to be given, and gained an intire Victory over the *Samnites*.

It is very apparent, that the Gods had a less share in the Death of this Poor Keeper than *Papirius*; and that the General had a Design, by his Death, to encourage those Souldiers, whom the falseness of the *Augury* might have terrifi'd; for the *Romans* were acquainted with these Arts and Tricks in the times of their greatest Simplicity.

It

It must be confessed then, that we should be much in the Wrong, if we should believe these *Auguries* and *Oracles*, which the *Pagans* themselves did not believe: And if we will not think as meanly of them, as some Philosophers, and some Generals of Armies did; yet let us at least have such thoughts of them, as the People themselves sometimes had.

But doubtless (may some object) all the *Pagans* did not despise *Oracles*: And some particular Persons, that had no regard for them, are not sufficient intirely to discredit them. And to the Authority of those who did not believe them, we need do no more than oppose the Authority of those that did.

But it may be answered, that these two Authorities are not of equal Strength; for the Testimony of those who uphold a thing that is already established, contributes not much to the support of it; but the Testimony of those who do not believe it, is of Force enough to destroy it; for those who do believe a thing, may perhaps

perhaps not know the Reasons, that may be given against the belief of it; but those who do not believe it, cannot chuse but know, why others believe it.

It is quite contrary, when a new thing is to be introduced; for in that case, the Testimony of those that believe it, carries more weight with it, than the Testimony of those who do not believe it; for 'tis probably to be supposed, that those who believe it, must needs have examined it; and those who do not believe it, may perhaps not have considered of it.

I will not say, that either in the one or the other Case, the Authority of those who believe, or believe not, is a final decision; but I will say, that without a regard be had to the Reasons on which the two Parties found themselves, sometimes the Authority of one seems more receivable, and sometimes that of the other. Upon the whole Matter, in quitting a common Opinion, or in receiving a new one, we make use of our Reason (whether it be good or bad;) but there

there is no need of making use of any to reject a new opinion, or to take up one that is already common; for we have need of strength to resist a torrent, but we need none to follow it.

And it avails not to the credit of *Oracles*, that among those who believe, that there is something in 'em of divine and supernatural, there shou'd be found some *Philosophers* of great name, such as the *Stoicks* are; for when *Philosophers* are once prepossess'd with any thing, they are more incurable than the common People, and are as much blinded with prejudices and false Reasons, with which they uphold their opinion. The *Stoicks* in particular (as proud and supercilious a Sect as they were) held some opinions which deserv'd pity. How cou'd they chuse but believe *Oracles*, who believ'd *Dreams*? The great *Chrysippus* himself adopted some points for articles of his faith, which had been more suitable for the belief of some silly Old Woman.

CHAF.

C H A P. IX.

That the Ancient Christians themselves did not very firmly believe that Oracles were deliver'd by Dæmons.

ALtho' the Learned Christians in the first Ages, were fond enough of asserting that Oracles were deliver'd by Dæmons, yet they would very often reproach the Heathens with their being imposed upon by their Priests: Which thing was undoubtedly true, since they asserted it, even with the hazard of losing this system of Dæmons, which they esteemed so favourable to 'em.

Thus *Clement Alexandrinus* speaks in his third Book of *Tapiſtries*.

*Boast, if you will, of your Oracles, full of folly and impertinence, of those of Claros, of Apollo Pythius, of Didymus of Amphiaraus, and of Amphilo-
cus. You may yet add your Augurs and*
In.

Interpreters of Dreams and Prodigies. Show us in the Presence of Apollo Pythius, those Men who divined by Flower or by Barley, and those who have been so esteemed, because they spoke out of their Bellies. Let the Secrets of the Egyptian Temples, and of the Hetrurian Necromancers remain still in Darkness, for they are certainly all but extravagant Impostures and Deceits, no better than meer cheating at Dice: And the Goats which are kept for Divination, and the Ravens which are taught to deliver Oracles, are but as the Assistants or Zaneyes of Mountebanks, who cozen all Mankind.

Eusebius, in the Beginning of his fourth Book of *Evangelical Preparations*, proposes at large the best Reasons in the World to prove, that Oracles could be no other, than Impostures: And it is upon those very Reasons, that I pretend to support myself, when I come to treat of the cheats of Oracles in particular.

Never-

Nevertheless, I must confess, that tho *Eusebius* knew so very well how to prove, that *Oracles* could not be supernatural, yet he attributes them to *Dæmons*; and the Authority of a Man so well instructed with the Reasons on both sides, is a very great encouragement to the Party which he embraces.

But it is to be noted, that after *Eusebius* had very well proved, that *Oracles* could be no other than the Impostures of *Priests*; he assures us (without either destroying or weakening those first Proofs) that for all this, they were delivered by *Dæmons*. But he ought to have cited some unsuspected *Oracle*, which had been delivered in such Circumstances, that although many others might be imputed to the Artifices of *Priests*, yet that could not. But *Eusebius* has done no such thing. This is, as if he should say, I clearly see, that all the *Oracles* can be no other than Cheats; but yet, I will not believe them to be so, because it serves my purpose, that the Devil should now and then enter into an *Oracle*. This

This is a very lamentable kind of reasoning. But I must confess, if *Eusebius* (in the Circumstances of the times which he lived in) durst not have said openly, that *Oracles* were not the Works of *Dæmons*, it had been excusable; but then in seeming to maintain that they were so, he ought to have managed his Arguments in such a way, that he might have insinuated the contrary with the best Address he was capable of. But we are at liberty to guess at the Reasons, that guided *Eusebius* in this matter, according to the Esteem we have of him: For my own part, I believe clearly, that he asserted these Oracular *Dæmons*, rather by way of Apology and from a forced Respect he had for the common Opinion, than on any other Account.

There is a passage of *Origen*, in his Seventh Book against *Celsus*, which sufficiently proves that he attributed *Oracles* to *Dæmons*, only to accommodate himself to the Times, and to the Disputes, which in that Age were between the *Christians* and the

Pagans. I might (said he) make use of the Authority of Aristotle, and the Peripateticks, to render the Pythian Oracle suspected: I could draw from Epicurus and those of his Sect, an Infinity of things, that would discredit Oracles; and I could easily make it appear, that the Greeks themselves made no great Account of them; but conceding that they were not fictions, nor Impostures, let us examine the Case a little more carefully, and consider, whether there were any Necessity, that a God should have any business there, and if it were not more reasonable to believe, that they were managed by evil Dæmons and Genii, that were Enemies to Mankind.

It is sufficiently evident, that Origen was inclined to believe of Oracles, as we do; but the *Pagans*, who used them for a Proof of the Divinity of their Religion, had no Reason to consent, that they were but the Artifices of their Priests: So, that, to gain a little upon the *Pagans*, there was a necessity of yielding to them, what they maintained with so much

Obstinacy,

Obstinacy, and to let them see, that tho there might be something of Supernatural in the *Oracles*, yet there was no reason to say, that a true Divinity was concerned in them; and so *Dæmons* were to be brought upon the Stage.

'Tis true, that it had been much better wholly to have excluded even these *Dæmons* from *Oracles*; and by that means, the greatest blow would indeed have been given to the *Pagan* Religion that can be imagined. But all the World perhaps did not enter so deep into this Matter, and they thought they had done enough, when by the *Hypothesis* of *Dæmons*, (which solves the whole Business in two words,) they disparaged all those Miracles, which the *Pagans* could alledge for their false Worship.

This, it is probable, was the Cause, why in the first Ages of the Church, Men so generally embraced this Opinion concerning *Oracles*. For we see clearly enough into the Darkness of remote Antiquity, to discover, that *Christians* did not hold this Opinion

so much for the truth, which they found in it, as for the Advantages, which it gave them in their Disputes against *Paganism*: And could they be born again in the Age wherein we live, I doubt not, but that being then delivered, like us, from those strange Notions, that obliged them to that *Hypothesis*, they would have had (almost all of them) the same Disesteem of *Oracles*, as we have at this time.

Hitherto, we have only taken away the Prejudices that are contrary to our Opinion, and which are drawn, either from the System of the *Christian Religion*, or else from *Philosophy*, with the general Consent of both *Pagans* and *Christians*. We have answered all this, not only by making a simple Defence, but very often by starting Objections; but now we shall make our Assaults with greater Vigour, and demonstrate by all those particular Circumstances, which we can remark in *Oracles*, that they never ought to have been attributed to *Dæmons*.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

That Oracles were corrupted by Bribery.

IT was so easy a matter to corrupt these *Oracles*, that it was very evident that they were managed by Men. *The Pythian Priestess Philipides*, said *Demosthenes*, when he was complaining that the *Oracles* of *Delphos* were always conformable to the interest of *Philip*.

* When *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* was minded to dethrone *Demaratus* the former King, on pretence that he was not the Son of *Ariston* his predecessor, and that *Ariston* himself had complain'd that his Son was born a little too soon after his Marriage, the *Oracle* was consulted on so difficult a question; for the thing was of such a Nature, that it cou'd be decided only by the *Gods*. But *Cleomenes* himself went beforehand to engage the chief *Priestess* of *Delphos*, and so she

* Herod. Lib. 6.

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declar'd that *Demaratus* was not the Son of *Ariston*. The cheat was sometime after discover'd, and the *Priestess* depriv'd of her Dignity; for they were bound to revenge this dishonour done to their *Oracles*, and to endeavour to repair their lost credit.

* Herod.
Lib. 5.

*During the time that *Hippias* was Tyrant of *Athens*, some Citizens whom he had Banish'd, obtain'd of the *Pythian Priestess* by the force of Money, that when the *Lacedæmonians* shou'd come to consult her (no matter on what affairs) she should always tell 'em, they must deliver *Athens* from Tyranny. And the *Lacedæmonians*, to whom the same thing was always repeated, whatever they came about, believ'd at last, that the *Gods* wou'd never Pardon them, if they condemn'd their so frequent Orders; and thereupon they took up Arms against *Hippias*, tho' he were their Ally.

If the *Dæmons* delivered *Oracles*, they were alwaies full of complaisance to those *Princes* that were once be-

become redoubted; and 'tis to be noted that *Hell* had a very great regard for *Alexander* and *Augustus*. Some Historians tell us plainly that *Alexander* had a mind by his absolute Authority to make himself the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*, both for his interest and the Honour of his Mother, who was suspected to have had a gallant much less considerable than *Jupiter*: and they add, that before he went to the *Temple*, he caus'd the *God* to be advertis'd of his will and pleasure; and the *God* very honestly obeyed his command. Other Authors hold, that the *Priests* found out of themselves this way of flattering *Alexander*. There is none but *Plutarch* that grounds this Divinity of *Alexander* on a mistake of the *Priest* of *Ammon*, who saluting this King, and intending to say to him in Greek, *Oh my Son*, pronounc'd αὐτῷ πατρί for a υἱ, (for he was a *Lybian*, Ἰϋβιανός for and knew not well how to pronounce αὐτῷ πατρί. the Greek;) and the words with this change signify, *Oh Son of Jupiter*. And the whole Court fail'd not to

construe this mistake of the *Priest*, to the advantage of *Alexander*; and without doubt the *Priest* himself made it pass for an Inspiration of the *God* who had directed his Tongue, and so by *Oracles* afterwards confirm'd his ill pronounciation. This last manner of relating this History pleases me extreamly, for I love to find very little Originals give rise to mighty things; this seems to me to be probable, and a Mockery worthy of sporting fortune.

*Pruden.

* *Augustus* was so in Love with *Livia*, that he took her by force from her Husband, big with Child as she was; and so impatient, was his Passion, that he would not deferr his Marriage till she were delivered, but the action being something extraordinary the *Oracle* was consulted about it; who knew well how to make its Court to so glorious a Monarch, and was not only content to approve the Marriage, but assur'd him, that Weddings never succeeded better, than when the Bride was already with Child. This seems
to

to me a very strange Maxim.

There were at *Sparta* but two families, out of which they might chuse their Kings. But *Lysander*, one of the greatest Men that ever *Sparta* bred, fram'd a design to take away this distinction, too advantageous for those two Families, and too injurious to all the rest; and to open a way to Royalty for all those who had merit enough to pretend to it. In order to this, he contriv'd so perplex'd a plot, that I admire how a Man of Wit could hope to draw any success from it. *Plutarch* says very well, that it was like a Mathematical Demonstration, to which no Man arrives but by tedious methods. There was a Woman in *Pontus* who pretended to be Big with Child by *Apollo*; *Lysander* cast his thoughts upon this Son of *Apollo*, intending to make use of him when he shou'd be born; (this it was to have a very great foresight) and he causes a report to be spread abroad, that the *Priests* of *Delphos* had in their possession very ancient *Oracles* which they were not
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permitted to read, because *Apollo* had reserv'd that privilege for some one that should come of his blood, and who should come to *Delphos* to justify his descent. The Child of the Woman at *Pontus* was to be this Son of *Apollo*; and it was contriv'd that amongst those mysterious *Oracles*, so closely conceal'd, there should be one found out, which should declare to the *Spartans* that they ought to give the Crown to *Desert* only, without having any regard to Families. So that now nothing remain'd but to shape up some *Oracles*; to get this Son of *Apollo* (who was called *Silenus*) into the project, to make him come to *Delphos*, and to bribe the *Priests*. All this was done, which seems to me very surprizing; for what strange machines must they have made use of, for the accomplishing so great a design? *Silenus* comes to *Greece* and prepares to make himself known at *Delphos* for the Son of *Apollo*; but, as ill luck would have it, one of *Lysander's* creatures having some terrors upon him; at last when he found

found himself embark'd in so dangerous an affair, spoil'd all.

There is scarce a more remarkable example to be found in all History of the corruption of *Oracles*; but in reporting it, I will not dissemble a truth which my Author saies nothing of; which is, that *Lysander* had before endeavour'd to corrupt many other *Oracles*, but could not accomplish it. *Dodona* refused to take his money, *Jupiter Ammon* was inflexible, and even the *Priests* of the place sent deputies to *Sparta* to accuse *Lysander*; but by the force of his credit he got himself clear of that affair. The great *Priestess* of *Delphos* denyed to sell him her voice. And this makes me believe, that there were in *Delphos* two Colleges, which held no communication with one another, the one of *Priests*, the other of *Priestesses*; for *Lysander*, who could not corrupt the great *Priestess*, could yet sufficiently corrupt the *Priests*. The *Priestesses* were those only who deliver'd the *Oracles Viva voce*, and who with a thousand Antick motions and grimaces

ces acted the Possess'd on the *Tripes*, and seemed to rage, with the inspirations of the God; but in all probability the *Priests* had a Ware-house of Written *Prophecies*, of which they were the Masters, the Dispensers, and the Interpreters.

It is not to be doubted, but that the *Priests*, for the honour of their trade would seem very nice and scrupulous to those who desir'd to bribe 'em, especially when things were requir'd wherein there was no reason to hope for much success; such was the novelty, which *Lysander* had a design to introduce into the government of *Sparta*; and perhaps the faction of *Agefilaus*, which was against that of *Lysander*, was somewhat jealous of his project, and had been before-hand with the *Oracles*. Nor is it to be imagin'd, that the *Priests* of *Ammon* would have taken the pains to have come from the farthest part of *Libya* to *Sparta*, to have accused so great a Man as *Lysander*, if there had not been a very good understanding between their *Oracles* and

and his Enemies, who encouraged them to accuse him.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Erection of new Oracles.

THe *Oracles*, which were sometimes erected anew, do as much weaken the *Hypothesis* of *Dæmons*, as the *Oracles* that were corrupted by Bribery.

After the Death of *Ephæstion*, *Alexander*, to comfort himself, would needs have it believed, that *Ephæstion* was a God; To which, all his Courtiers consented without any Difficulty: And immediately, Temples were erected in many Cities to *Ephæstion*, Festivals were instituted to his Honour, Sacrifices were made to him, Miraculous Cures were attributed to him, and in fine (that nothing at all might be wanting) they made him deliver *Oracles*. *Lucian* says,

says, that *Alexander*, who was at first astonished to see the Divinity of *Ephæstion* have such Success, believed it himself at length to be true, and found a great deal of Pleasure, in thinking not only, that he himself was a God, but that he had also the Power of making Gods.

Adrian committed the same Folly for the lovely *Antinous*: In Honour of whose Memory he built the City of *Antinopolis*, he consecrated Temples and Prophets to him (says *St. Jerome* :) Now there were no Prophets, but in those Temples where there were Oracles. And there is yet remaining this *Greek* Inscription:

To *Antinous*,

The Companion of the Gods of Egypt. *M. Ulpus Apollonius*, his Prophet.

After this, we need not wonder, that *Augustus* also delivered Oracles, as we find it in *Prudentius*: And certainly *Augustus* was as fit to be worshipped

shipped as *Antinous* or *Ephæstion*, who according to all likelihood, owed their Divinity only to their Beauty.

Without doubt, these new Oracles caused even those, who were the least capable of thinking, to make Reflections upon them. Was there not Reason to believe, that these were of the same Nature with the Ancient ones? And to make a due Judgment on the first beginnings of those of *Amphiaraus*, *Trophonius*, *Orpheus*, and of *Apollo* himself, they needed no more, than to consider those of *Ephæstion*, *Antinous* and *Augustus*.

'Tis plain however, that they were not in like Credit with those of more ancient Dates, and that there is a vast difference between them; for they flinted the Gods of the new Edition to certain Answers, that were necessary for the flattering of Princes; but for any thing else, they were not seriously consulted.

For when Questions of Importance were to be asked, they went to *Delphos*. The ancient *Tripodes* had been in Possession of Futurity, time out of Mind;

Mind; and the word of a good sage, experienced God was far more authentick than that of these Upstarts, who were less versed in the Trade. The *Roman* Emperors, whose Interest it was to advance and set a value on the Divinity of their Predecessors (since themselves claimed the same) would have endeavoured to have render'd the *Oracles* of the deified *Emperors* (such as *Augustus* was) more celebrated, if it had not been that the People, accustomed to their ancient *Oracles*, could not have the same Confidence in these; for I would willingly believe, that, what Inclination soever they had to the most ridiculous superstitions, yet they laugh'd at these new *Oracles*, and in general, at all the Consecrations of new Gods: For how could they possibly take the Eagle, which flew out of the flaming Funeral Pile of a *Roman* Emperor, to be the Soul of that Emperor, that was taking its Flight to Heaven?

How then came it to pass, that People were deceived at the first Erection

rection of Gods and *Oracles*? Thus it was, as I conjecture. As for the Gods, *Paganism* had only two principal sorts of them, either *Gods* who were supposed to be essentially of a Divine Nature, or *Gods* which did not become so, till after they had been of a humane Nature first. The former sort were declared *Gods* by the Learned, or by the Legislators with a multitude of Mysteries; and the People neither saw them, nor ever had seen them: The second sort (tho' the whole World knew that they had been *Men*, yet they) were made *Gods* by the Inclination of the People, in Memory of their Vertues. They framed to themselves a very elevated *Idea* of the one sort, because they were above their view; and of the other, because they loved them. But they could not have that Devotion for a *Roman* Emperor, who was only made a God by the Favour and Order of the Court, and not by the Love of the People, and who besides this, was known so very lately to have been a Man.

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As for the *Oracles*, their first Establishment is not difficult to unfold: For find me but half a dozen Persons, whom I can perswade that it is not the Sun that makes the Day, and I will not despair of prevailing with a whole Nation to embrace the same Opinion: For however ridiculous any thing seems at first, if you can but maintain it for some time, so that it gains the Authority of Antiquity, it is then sufficiently proved.

There was on the top of *Parnassus* a hole, out of which an Exhalation came, which was of such a Nature, that it made Goats dance and caper, by fuming into their Heads; and perhaps some Body, whose Head was filled with this Exhalation became an *Enthusiast*, fell a talking, without knowing what he said, and by chance spoke truth. Immediately, there was something Divine fancied to be in this Exhalation, and that it contained the Knowledge of Futurity; then, they begin to approach this hole with Veneration, and Ceremonies are by little and little

the introduced. Thus in all probability, the *Oracle of Delphos* was at first erected. And as it owed its Original to an Exhalation, which infected the Head, there was a necessity that the *Pythian Priestess* should be in a Fury, when she was to prophesie; but in the greatest part of the other *Oracles*, Fury was not practised. Let but one *Oracle* be set up, and you need not doubt but a thousand will follow the Example; for if the Gods can speak in one, why should they not do so as well in others? The People struck with the Wonder of the thing, and finding of what use it would be, and covetous of the Profit, which they expected from it, desired nothing more than to see *Oracles* set up in every place; and in time, all these *Oracles* got the Advantage of Antiquity, which stood them in great stead. And it could not be expected, that the new ones should have such Success, since they were established by *Princes*: whereas the People are most willing to believe, what they make themselves.

Add to all this, that at the time of the first institution both of *Gods* and *Oracles*, Ignorance was much greater than it was afterwards. Philosophy was not then known in the World, and the most extravagant superstitions had met with no contradiction from thence. 'Tis true that those we call *the People* are never mighty knowing; yet the dulness, with which they are alwaies possess'd, receives some difference according to the Ages in which they live. But there are some Ages wherein all the World are the People, and those times without comparison are the most favourable for the introduction of errors. 'Tis no wonder then, that the People had a less esteem for the new *Oracles*, than for the Ancient ones; but this makes not the old *Oracles* any whit better than the new ones. Now either a *Dæmon* went to lodge in the Statue of *Ephæstion*, to deliver *Oracles* from thence (as soon as it pleas'd *Alexander* to erect one to him as to a God:) or if the Statue deliver'd *Oracles* without this *Dæ-*

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mon, then that of *Apollo Pythius* might do so as well. And it seems to me very strange and surprizing, that the fancy of *Alexander* should be able to send a *Dæmon* to take possession of a Statue, which by that means only was to become an eternal occasion of error to all Men.

C H A P. XII.

Of the places where Oracles were.

WE shall now enter upon the History of those Artifices and cheats what the *Priests* practis'd: which contains many things of Antiquity very agreeable and particular.

Countries that were Mountainous (and by consequence full of holes, and caverns) were alwaies fullest of *Oracles*; such was *Bæotia*, which anciently, as *Plutarch* saies, had a number of them. Where by the way

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you may observe that the *Bæotians* had the repute of being the foolishhest Nation of the World; and therefore it was a fit country for *Oracles*, being full of blockheads and Caverns.

I cannot believe that the first establishment of *Oracles* was a design'd cheat; but that the People fell into some superstition which gave 'em a Beginning, and that afterwards *Men of Wit* made their advantages of 'em. For the weakness of the People is oftentimes greater than could have been foreseen; and many times those that deceive 'em, think of nothing less, until they themselves give some opportunity for the fraud. And my opinion is, that *Oracles* were not therefore placed in *Bæotia*, because 'tis Mountainous; but because the *Oracle* of *Delphos* had by chance its beginning there, after the manner which we have related, therefore others, that were made in imitation of that in the same country, were situated also in the Caverns: the conveniences of which for that purpose, were

were very well known to the *Priests*.

This custom afterwards spread it self every where; for the pretence of Divine exhalations render'd these caverns necessary: and besides caverns of themselves affect one with a certain horror, which does not a little advance superstition; and in things that are only to make impressions on the imaginations of Men nothing is to be neglected. It may be also, that the situation of *Delphos* contributed to the making it be esteem'd as a holy Town; it was built on a small level which was half way up the Mountain of *Parnassus*, and encompass'd with precipices which fortify'd it without the help of art. That part of the Mountain which was above it, had the resemblance of a *Theatre*; and the voice of Men, and the sound of Trumpets was multiply'd by the echoes of the Rocks. Do not you believe then, that they knew how to make even these Echoes of great use to 'em?

The advantages of the *Priests*, and the majesty of the *Oracles*, do equal-

ly require these caverns ; for which reason there was no great number of these prophetick Temples situated on Plains ; but yet there were some, whose defects the *Priests* knew well enough how to remedy, and instead of natural caverns, to accomodate 'em with Artificial ones, that is to say, what they call Sanctuaries, which were a sort of Caves where the Divinity perpetually resided, and where none but the *Priests* ever enter'd.

* Plutar.
Dial. that
Oracles
are not
ceas'd.

* When the *Pythian Priestess* placed her self upon the *Tripod*, it was in her Sanctuary, an obscure place at some distance from a certain little chamber, wherein those who came to consult the *Oracles* were to stand. The entrance of this Sanctuary was all cover'd over with boughs of *Laurel*, by which means those who had the liberty of approaching it, could make no discoveries.

From whence do you think, proceeds the diversity that is to be found in the description which the Ancients give of their oracles ? It is because

cause they never saw what pass'd in the most sacred recesses of their Temples.

For example, they agree not among themselves about the *Oracle* of *Dodona*, and yet what could be better known to the *Greeks* ? *Aristotle*, (as *Suidas* reports) writes, that at *Dodona* there were two columns, upon one of which there was a Basen of Brass, and upon the other a Statue of a Child who held a Whip, the cords of which being also of Brass made a noise against the Basen, when they were agitated by the Wind.

Demon (according to the same *Suidas*) says that the *Oracle* of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* is all encompass'd with Basens, of which, when any one is push'd against the next, the motion is communicated all round to the rest, and they make a din, which continues for some time.

Others say, that there was a resounding *Oak*, which shook its Branches, and leaves together, all the while the *Oracle* was consulted ; and its meaning

ning was pronounced by the *Priestesses* called *Dodonides*. It is plain from all this that there was nothing certain but the noise, which was to be heard from without; but not seeing the inward Sanctuary, where the *Oracle* resided, they only knew, but by conjecture, and the fallacious reports of the *Priests* what caus'd this noise. Yet we find in History, that some few had the privilege to enter into these Sanctuaries; but they were persons of no less quality than *Alexander* and *Vespasian*. *Strabo* reports from *Callisthenes* that *Alexander* enter'd alone with the *Priest* into the Sanctuary of *Ammon*, and that all the rest heard the *Oracle* only from without.

Tacitus also relates that *Vespasian* when he was at *Alexandria*, (having already a design upon the Empire) would needs consult the *Oracle* of *Serapis*; but before he enter'd, he made every body quit the *Temple*; and yet for all this, perhaps he did not enter into the *Sanctuary*. But the instances of this privilege are very

very rare; for my Author avers that he never knew of any other than these two; unless you will add what *Tacitus* says of *Titus*, to whom the *Priest* of *Paphian Venus* discovered in secret many great things, concerning the designs which he had then in hand. But yet this example proves less than that of *Vespasian*, that the *Priests* allow'd great Men the liberty of entering into the *Sanctuary* of their *Temples*. Doubtless one ought to have a great deal of credit with the *Priests*, to oblige 'em to discover the *Arcana* of their mysteries; but they did it only to Princes, whose Interest they knew it was to keep the secret; and who, in the circumstances which they were then in, had some particular reason to raise and not lessen the reputation of *Oracles*.

In these dark *Sanctuaries* it was, that all the machines of the *Priests* lay; and they enter'd into them by intricate paths under ground. *Rufinus* describes to us the *Temple* of *Serapis* full of covert ways: and (to bring a testimony yet stronger than his)

his) do not the Holy Scriptures discover to us the impostures of the *Priests* of *Belus*, who had a private conveyance to enter secretly into his *Temple*, and to take away the meat which was there offer'd to him? It seems to me that this History alone ought to decide the whole question in our favour; for we there have an account of one of the miracles of *Paganism*, which was the most universally believ'd, how that the *Gods* took the pains to come and Eat the consecrated meat, themselves. Do the Scriptures attribute this prodigy to *Dæmons*? not at all; but to the *Priests*, who were impostors. And it is in this place alone that the Scriptures vouchsafe to give the description of a *Pagan* miracle; and by not advertising us that the rest were not of the same nature, they give us plainly to understand that they were. After all, how much easier was it to persuade People that the *Gods* descended into Statues to speak to 'em, and give 'em wholesome instructions, than that they came down to Eat the members
of

of *Goats* and *Sheep*; and therefore surely if it was the *Priests* that Eat and not the *Gods*, by much stronger reason, it was they that pronounced the *Oracles* in their stead.

The Cavities of the *Sanctuary*, increas'd the voice, and caus'd rebounding Echoes, which imprinted a sort of awful terror in all that approach'd it: you see also in all the Poets that the *Pythian Priestesses* strain'd their voices, so much beyond the pitch of nature, that they appear'd to be more than humane. Perhaps too that sort of * *Trumpet* which multiplies the sound, was not then altogether unknown: and it may be Sir, *Samuel Moreland*, has but revived this secret, which the *Pagan Priests* knew before him; tho' they chose rather to get profit by concealing it, than honour by publishing it. And Father *Kirker* assures us that *Alexander* had one of these instruments, with which he made himself be heard by his whole Army at the same time. There is one little thing which I will not forget, because it serves to demonstrate

*Sir Sam.
Morelands
speaking
Trumpet.

strate the extream application which the *Priests* had to cheating. From the *Sanctuary* or bottom of the *Temple* there came out sometimes a very agreeable vapour which fill'd all the place where the *Consulters* were: It was the arrival of the *God*, you must know, that perfum'd all. Judge then, if Men who carried on their impostures so curiously as to descend to these trifles, would neglect any thing that was essential.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Distinctions of days, and other Mysteries of Oracles.

THE *Priests* neglected not any kind of precaution; and therefore they had certain days on which no man was permitted to consult the *Oracle*. This had a mysterious *Air*, which is still much practis'd in like matters; but yet the chief advantage which they drew from

from it, was, that they could put you off with this pretext till another time, either if they had no mind to give you any answer at all, or if they thought fit to have this time of silence for the taking their measures and making their preparatives.

On occasion of these pretended unlucky days, there was deliver'd to *Alexander* one of the pleasantest *Oracles* that ever was. He went to *Delphos* to consult the *God*, and the *Priestess*, pretending that it was not then a lawful time to interrogate, would not enter into the *Temple*. *Alexander*, who was very rough and impatient, took the *Priestess* by the Arm and led her in by force; whereupon she cry'd out, *Ah, my Son, you are not to be resisted. I desire no more,* (says *Alexander*) *this Oracle is enough for me.*

But the *Priests* had got another secret to gain time when they pleased. Before they would consult the *Oracles* they must Sacrifice; and if the entrails of the victim were not lucky, then the *God* was not in an humour

mour to answer ; now none judged of the victims but the *Priests* : and for the most part (as it appears by many examples) they were alone when they examin'd 'em: And often, to delay the time, they would make men begin their Sacrifice a new, and bring a second victim, tho' they had already offer'd one that had the finest Heart and Liver in the World.

What wererecall'd the Mysteries and secret Ceremonies of the *Gods*, were without doubt the best Artifices the *Priests* could invent to keep People in the dark : and yet they could not so well hide the juggle, but that the cheat would be suspected by many persons ; and therefore they contrived among themselves to establish certain Mysteries, which should engage those that were initiated into them to an inviolable secrecy.

'Tis true there were mysteries in those *Temples* where there were no *Oracles* but there were no *Oracles* but what had mysteries: as for instance in that of *Delphos*. *Plutarch*, in his *Dialogues* so often cited, says, that

that there was no Person in the Town of *Delphos*, nor in all that Country, that was not initiated into their mysteries, and so every body had his dependance on the *Priests*; and if any one had dared to have opened his mouth against 'em, they presently cryed out, *O the Atheist ! O the impious Man !* and he would have drawn upon himself by his plain dealing such inconveniences, as he could never have got quit of. But yet if there had been no such mysteries, the inhabitants of *Delphos* would have been alwaies obliged to have conceal'd the knavery of their *Priests*; for *Delphos* was a *City* which had no other Revenue but that of its *Temple*, and was maintain'd only by its *Oracle* ; but for all that, the *Priests* were not contented till they had secured the People to themselves by a double tie, and so they annexed superstition to their interest. And without doubt a Man who had spoken ill of their *Oracles*, would have been wonderous well received in such a Town.

Those, who were initiated into their mysteries, gave also further security for their discretion; for they were oblig'd to make a confession to their *Priests* of all the most private actions of their Lives: so that by this means they became slaves to their *Priests*, that their own secrets might be kept.

It was upon this sort of confession that a *Lacedæmonian*, who was going to initiate himself into the mysteries of *Samothrace*, spoke roundly thus to the *Priest*: *If I have committed any crimes, surely the Gods are not ignorant of 'em.*

Another answer'd almost after the same manner: *Is it to you or to God we ought to confess our Crimes? It is to God*, says the *Priest*. *Well then, retire thou*, answered the *Lacedæmonian*, *and I'll confess 'em to God.* These *Lacedæmonians* were not very full of the Spirit of Devotion, and I do not doubt but there might have been some Man Wicked enough to go and make a false confession, to get himself initiated into their mysteries,

ries, and then afterwards to make a discovery of all their Extravagancies, and publish the Cheats of the *Priests*.

I believe that this Misfortune may have happened, for though *Priests* used all possible means to prevent such Discoveries: They observed narrowly what Persons they were, with whom they had to do; and, I'll warrant you, the two *Lacedæmonians*, whom we have mentioned, were not admitted. Besides, they declared the *Epicureans*, incapable of being initiated into their Mysteries, because they were a sort of Men, who made it their Business to laugh at them; and I believe, they never deliver'd *Oracles* to them: Nor was it very difficult to know them; for all those among the *Greeks*, who applied themselves to Literature, made choice of some Sect of *Philosophy*, or other, and took their Appellation from that Sect, almost as we do from a Country. For Example, there were three *Demetriuses*, which were thus distinguished; one was *Demetri-*

us the *Cynick*, the other, *Demetrius* the *Stoick*, and the third, *Demetrius* the *Peripatetick*. This Custom of excluding the *Epicureans* from all Mysteries, was so general, and so necessary for the securing of Sacred things, that it was made use of by that Grand Cheat, whose Life *Lucian* describes so agreeably; I mean that *Alexander*, who fooled the *Greeks* so long a time with his *Serpents*: But he also added the *Christians* to the *Epicureans*; for he thought one no better than the other: And before he began his Ceremonies, he always cried, *Let the Christians be put out*. To whom the People answered in a kind of *Chorus*, *Let the Epicureans be put out also*. Nay, he did far worse than all this; for seeing himself tormented by these two sorts of People, (who, though pushed by different Interests, yet conspired together to turn his Ceremonies into Ridicule) he declared that *Pontus* (where he then lived) was filled with wicked People, and that the God, whose Prophet he was, would speak no more, if they did
not

not rid themselves of them; and upon this, they murdered all the *Epicureans* and the *Christians*.

Daphnean Apollo, in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, was in the same uneasiness; when in the time of *Julian* the Apostate, he answered all those, who asked him the Cause of his silence, that they must lay the blame on certain dead People, who were interred in the Neighbour-hood. These dead People were Christian Martyrs, and amongst the rest, *St. Babilas*. Now the current Opinion is, that it was the Presence of these blessed dead Bodies, which deprived the *Dæmons* of the Power of speaking in the Oracle; but 'tis more probable, that the great Concourse of Christians, which daily visited the Sepulchers of these Martyrs, incommoded the *Priests* of *Apollo*, who did not care, that such clear-sighted Enemies should be Witnesses of their Actions; and therefore they endeavoured by this false Oracle, to obtain of the *Pagan Emperor*, that he would cause these Bo-

dies, of which the God complained, to be cast out from thence.

But let us return to the Artifices of the *Priests*, of which the *Oracles* are full: And to comprehend in one Reflection alone, all those that can be made upon them, I would fain have some one tell me, why the *Dæmons* could not predict what was to come, unless they were in holes, in Caverns and in obscure Places? And why they did never animate a Statue, in some common Road, where four high Ways met, exposed on all sides to the view of the World? But it may perhaps be said, that those *Oracles* which were given in answer to sealed Letters, and those that were delivered by Dreams, could not have been without *Dæmons*; but 'twill be very easie for us to show, that they had nothing in them more wonderful and miraculous than the rest.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Oracles that were delivered in Answer to Sealed Letters.

THE *Priests* were not so scrupulous in that Point, as not to unseal the Letters that were brought them. The Custom was to lay them upon the Altar: After which the Temple was to be shut; but the *Priests* knew very well how to enter, without being perceived. Or else, they put the Letters into the Hands of the *Priests*, that they might sleep upon them, and receive in a Dream the Answer, which they were to return: And in both Cases, they had the Leisure to open them privately. For the doing this, they had many secret Arts: Some of which we see practised by the false Prophet of *Lucian*. And they are to be seen in *Lucian* himself by any one, that has the Curiosity to know

I 4

how

how the Letters of the Ancients were to be opened, without its being perceived that they were so.

Certainly, they made use of some of these Secrets, to open those Letters, that the *Governour* of *Cilicia* (of whom *Plutarch* speaks) had sent to the *Oracle* of *Mopsus*, which was at *Mallus*, a City of that Province. The *Governour* knew not what to think of the Gods; for he was possessed by the *Epicureans* with many doubts, which they had put into his Head: So that, he was resolved, as *Plutarch* pleasantly observes, to send a spy among the *Deities*, to learn what he could of them: So he gave him a Letter very carefully sealed, to carry to the *Oracle* of *Mopsus*. This Envoy came, and, as the Custom was, laid his Letter upon the Altar, and himself slept in the Temple, where he saw in a *Dream*, a Man, very well made, who said to him, *Black*. He carried back this Answer to the *Governor* with his Letter sealed just as he sent it, to all Appearance. The Answer seemed very ridiculous

diculous to the *Epicureans*, that were at Court; but himself was struck with Astonishment and Wonder at it; and opening his Letter before them, he showed them what he had written; which was this Question: *Shall I sacrifice to you a white or a black Bullock?* After this Miracle, he was all his Life very much devoted to the *God Mopsus*. We will hereafter discover to you the Mystery of the *Dream*; but it is sufficient at present to tell you, that there is no doubt, but that the Letters were opened and sealed again with great Dexterity and Address; for what necessity was there of sending a Letter to the *Temple*, if a *Dæmon* was to make the Answer? And if it sometimes happened so, that the *Priests* durst not venture to open the Letters, then they endeavoured by their Cunning, to discover what Men came to the *Oracle* about; for they were commonly Persons of Note, and who had some Design or Passion in their Heads, that was not unknown to the World. And the
Priests

Priests had so much Conversation with those that came to consult, either at their *Sacrifices*, or during the delays, that were made by the *Oracle*, before it would answer, that it was not difficult to draw from their own Mouths (or at least to conjecture) what was the Cause of their Voyage: They made them offer one Sacrifice after another, till they had gotten some Light into their Affairs: They put them also into the Hands of certain little Officers of the *Temple*, who, (under pretence of showing them the Antiquities, the Statues, the Paintings, and the Offerings,) managed the matter so well, as to pump many things out of them concerning the Business which they came about. These Antiquaries (like those who live upon this Trade now in *Italy*) were in all the *Temples* that were anything considerable. They knew by Heart all the Miracles that were done, they set forth to you the Power and Wonders of their *God*, and they recounted to you a long Story of every Present that was consecrated to him.

him. And therefore, *Lucian* says very pleasantly, that all this sort of Men lived and subsisted on Fables; and that in *Greece*, they would have been very angry to have been told truth, tho' it had cost them nothing. If those who came to consult the *Oracle*, would not tell all themselves, yet their Servants could not hold their Peace. You must know, that in an *Oracle-Town*, there were scarce any Persons but *Oracle-Officers*: Some were *Prophets* and *Priests*; others, *Poets* (who put into Verse the *Oracles*, which were delivered in Prose;) others, simple *Interpreters*; others, little *Sacrificers*, who killed the Victims, and examined their Intrails; others, sellers of Perfumes and Incense, or of Beasts for the *Sacrifices*; others, Antiquaries; and in fine, all the rest were but In-keepers, whom the great resort of Strangers enriched. Now all these People were for the Interest of the *Oracle* and the *God*: And if by the means of the Servants belonging to these Strangers, they discovered any thing worth the knowing,

ing, you need not doubt, but they soon advertized the *Priests* of it.

The false *Prophet*, *Alexander*, who had set up his *Oracle* in *Pontus*, had *Correspondents* even in *Rome* it self, who sent him an *Account* of the most secret *Affairs* of those who went to consult him; by this means he could answer without the trick of opening their *Letters*. And these *Correspondencies* were doubtless not unknown to the *Priests* of *Apollo* of *Claros*, if it be true, that it was sufficient only to tell them the *Names* of those that consulted them. *Tacitus* speaks thus of them in his second *Book* of *Annals*. *Germanicus* went to consult *Apollo* of *Claros*, where a *Woman* does not deliver the *Oracles*, as at *Delphos*; but a *Man* chosen out of certain *Families* and who is almost always of *Miletus*; you need tell him only the *Number* and *Names* of them that come to consult him; and then he retires into a *Grotto*, and having taken some *Water* from a certain secret *Fountain* there, he answers you in *Verse*, to whatever
you

you have in your thoughts, though for the most part, he is a very ignorant Fellow.

Here we may observe, that the *Oracle* of *Delphos* was committed to the management of a *Woman*, because she had nothing else to do there, but to make ridiculous and antick Gestures, and to act the being possessed and inspired; but because that of *Claros* had more difficulty in it, therefore a *Man* only was to be intrusted with it. We may further remark, that the Ignorance of the *Prophet*, (which was indeed the greatest Wonder of the *Oracle*,) could not be very easily discovered; for the *Dæmon* of the *Oracle*, as much a *Dæmon* as he was, laid it down for an indispensable Rule, that they must bring him the *Names* of those who consulted him. But we are not come to that yet; it is sufficient to have shown how they could answer, not only to seal'd *Letters*, but also to simple thoughts. It is true, they could not answer to the thoughts of all the *World*: For what the *Priest* of *Claros*

ros did for *Germanicus*, he could not do for a private Citizen of *Rome*.

CHAP. XV.

Of Oracles delivered in Dreams.

THe Number of *Oracles* delivered in Dreams is very great; for this way had more of Wonder in it than any other, and yet was not very difficult in the Practice. The most famous of all these *Oracles* was that of *Trophonius* in *Bæotia*. *Trophonius* was but a simple *Hero*, but his *Oracle* was delivered with more Ceremony than those of any *God*.

Pausanias himself, who had been to consult it, and who had pass'd through all its Ceremonies, has left us a very ample Description of it: And I believe, that an exact Abridgment of his Relation will not be disagreeable to the Reader.

Before

Before any Body descended into the *Den* of *Trophonius*, they were obliged to pass a certain number of days in a kind of little *Temple* or *Chapel* call'd the *Chapel* of good Fortune, and of the good *Genius*. During this time they us'd expiations of all sorts; they abstain'd from hot bathings; they wash'd themselves very often in the River *Hercynas*; they sacrific'd to *Trophonius* and all his family, to *Apollo*, to *Jupiter*, furnam'd the King, to *Saturn*, to *Juno*, to one *Ceres Europa* who had been Nurse to *Trophonius*; and they lived only upon the flesh of the Sacrifices. It is also more than probable that the *Priests* liv'd upon nothing else. The Entrails of all these victims were to be examined, to see if *Trophonius* thought fit that the consulters should descend into his *Den*; but if these had yielded all the most happy Omens in the World, yet it would not do; for the decisive entrails were those of a certain *Ram*, which was to be Sacrific'd last; and if they were favourable, then the consulters were led in the Night to the

the River *Hercynas*, where two young Lads about thirteen or fourteen years Old rubbed all their Bodies over with Oil; then they conducted them to the Source of the River, and there they made them drink of two sorts of Waters; those of *Lethe*, which effaced out of their Minds all the prophane thoughts which before possess'd 'em; and those of *Mnemosyne*, which had the virtue to make them remember whatsoever they should see in the Sacred *Den*. After all these preparatives, they were show'd the Statue of *Trophonius*, to which they made their Prayers; and then they were covered with linen vests, which were girt about them with certain Sacred *Bandlets*, and so at last they were admitted to the *Oracle*.

The *Oracle* stood upon a Mountain and was encompassed with a Wall of white Stones, upon which Obelisks of Brass were erected: within this Cercle was a Cavern of the figure of an Oven, cut out by Art, whose entrance was so strait, that Men

Men did not descend into it by Stairs but by little Ladders, and when they were come to the bottom, they found another little Cavern, whose entrance was yet streighter: Here they laid themselves down upon the Earth and took into each hand certain compositions of Honey which they were obliged to carry, and then they put their feet within the opening of the little Cavern, and immediately they perceived themselves pulled into it with much force and suddenness.

Then it was that things to come were declared to 'em; but not to all in the same manner; for some heard and did not see, and those that saw were not to hear. After this they came out of the *Den*, creeping upon the Earth, as they entered in, with their feet foremost. Immediately they were put into the Chair of *Mnemosyne*, where they were asked what they had seen or heard; thence they were led into the *Chapel* of the good *Genius*, being still quite amaz'd and out of their Wits; but retrieving

trieving their senses by little and little, they began to be able to laugh; for till then the grandeur of the Myſteries, and the Divinity with which they were filled, had prevented it; though for my part I think one may well wonder how they could refrain ſo long.

Pauſanias tells us that there was one Man who enter'd into the *Den* of *Trophonius* and never came out again: This was a certain Spy that *Demetrius* ſent thither, to ſee if there were any thing in that Holy Place, worth the plundering. The Body of this unhappy Man was afterwards found a far off from thence; for 'tis to be ſuppos'd that he was caſt out of the Sacred *Den* by ſome more ſecret way than he enter'd into it.

It is very eaſy for us to make reflections upon all this; for what leiſure and opportunity could the *Prieſts* want during all the Sacrifices which they oblig'd Men to make, to qualify them for the entrance into this Sacred *Den*? For certainly *Trophonius* knew how to chooſe his Men,
and

and would not receive every Body. How did all theſe Waſhings, Expiations, and Night-watchings, and theſe paſſages into their ſtrait and obſcure Caverns, fill Mens minds with ſuperſtition, dread and fear? How many Machines were at work in thoſe dark places? The History of the Spy of *Demetrius* aſſures us, that there was no ſecurity in the *Den* for thoſe who came thither with malicious intentions; and that beſides the Sacred paſſage into it, which was known to all the World, the *Den* had another ſecret one, which was known only to the *Prieſts*. When Men were drawn in by their feet, it was doubtleſs done by Cords, (tho' not perceiv'd;) for they could not put their hands to feel what it was that drew 'em, becauſe they were embarraſs'd with thoſe compositions of Honey, which they were oblig'd not to let go. And perhaps thoſe Caverns were full of Perfumes and Oudours which ſtupified the brain: and the Waters of *Lethe* and *Mnemoſyne* were, alſo ('tis probable) prepar'd

for the same effect. To say nothing of the frightful sights and the noises which they might be terrified withal; and when they came out from thence little better than distracted, they talk'd strangely of what they had seen or heard; so that People taking advantage of their disorder, might collect what they pleas'd, and Change it as they thought fitting, and in fine, interpret it as they list'd themselves.

Add to all this, that there were some of those *Oracles* which were deliver'd in Dreams, where one must prepare ones self by fasting, as that of **Amphiaraus* in *Attica*; and then if your Dream could not receive a clear interpretation, they made you sleep again in the *Temple*, (at fresh charges) and never fail'd to fill your Head with fancies fit to make you Dream of Gods and extraordinary things: And for the most part, you were to sleep upon the skins of Victims, which perhaps were rubb'd with a drug which had some odd effect on the Brain.

But

*Philostrophus *Li.*
2. *Life of*
Apolloni-
us.

But when it was the Priests who sleeping upon the sealed Letters, had themselves the Prophetick Dreams, you may easily imagine, that those Dreams were not very difficult to unfold.

Indeed the care, that the *Pagan Priests* took to hide their Impostures, seems to have been greater than it needed to have been; for if People were credulous and stupid enough to content themselves with the Dreams of the *Priests*, and to give credit to them, then there was no necessity, to suffer them to dream in the *Temples*: And the *Priests* might have reserved this Privilege to themselves alone, without any Contradiction. For considering what sort of People they were, whom they had to do withal, it was too much Honour for them, to be cheated with Precaution and Address.

There was in *Achaia* * an Oracle of *Mercury*, which was delivered in this manner: After many Ceremonies, they whisper'd the God in the Ear, and asked him what Question

* *Pausani-*
as.

K 3

they

they pleas'd, and afterwards they stopt their own ears with their hands, and the first words which they heard after they were come out of the *Temple*, was taken to be the answer of the *God*. And to the end that the *Priests* might the more easily cause them to hear what they pleas'd, and the imposture not be discover'd, this *Oracle* was alwaies to be consulted in the night.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Ambiguity of Oracles.

ONe of the greatest secrets of the *Oracles*, and one of the things which most of all assures us that they were managed by Men, is their Ambiguity, and the Art that was used to contrive such answers as would be suitable to any event that was likely to happen.

* When *Alexander* fell sick all of a sudden

Arian.
Lib. 7.

sudden at *Babylon*, some of the Principal of his court went to pass a Night in the *Temple* of *Serapis*, to inquire of that *God*, if it were not fit for'em to bring their King thither to be cured by him. The *God* answer'd, that it was better for him to remain where he was. *Serapis* had reason; for if he had advised the bringing *Alexander* thither, and he had died by the way, or in the *Temple* it self, what would they not have said? But if the King continued at *Babylon* and recover'd his Health there, what a mighty Glory would it have brought the *Oracle*? and if he Died, it might be said to be the best that could befall him after the conquests that he had made, which if he lived, he could neither augment nor preserve. And without doubt this last interpretation was made for the honour of *Serapis*, after *Alexander* was Dead.

Macrobius saies, that when *Trajan* had a Design of attacking the *Parthians*, he was desired to consult the *Oracle* of the City *Heliopolis* about it, whither the manner was only to

K A

send

send a sealed Letter. Now, though *Trajan* put no great Confidence in *Oracles*, yet he sent a sealed Letter thither, in which there was nothing written, and they sent him back a suitable Answer, that is, none at all. So that *Trajan* being now convinced of the Divinity of *Oracles*, sends another sealed Letter, in which he demands of the God, whether he should finish the War, that he had undertaken, and return to *Rome*, or not? The God ordered, that they should take a Vine, which was one of the Offerings of the *Temple*, and cut it in pieces, and so carry it to *Trajan*. The Event, says *Macrobius*, was conformable to the *Oracle*; for *Trajan* dying in this War, his Bones, which were represented by the broken Vine, were carried to *Rome*.

All the World knew for certain that the *Emperor* designed to make War with the *Parthians*, and that this was the Business about which he consulted the *Oracle*: And, the *Oracle* was so cunning, as to return him an *Allegorical* Answer, and so general

general an one, that it could not fail of being true. For if *Trajan* had returned to *Rome*, either Victorious, but hurt, or having lost some part of his Souldiers; or if he were overcome, and his Army put to Flight; or if any division had been amongst his Men; or if any Mutiny had happened amongst the *Parthians*; or if any had happened at *Rome* in the Absence of the *Emperor*; if the *Parthians* had been wholly conquered; or if they had been but partly worsted, or that they had been abandoned by some of their Allies, in any one of these cases, this broken Vine miraculously had foretold all: And there was no question, but some one of these would happen. And I believe the Bones of the *Emperor* that were carried to *Rome*, and by which they explained the *Oracle*, were, for all that, the only thing of which the *Oracle* never thought.

This Vine puts me in mind of a kind of *Oracle* that accommodated it self to every thing, of which, as *Apuleius* tells us, the Priests of the Goddess

Goddeſs of Syria were the Inventors. They made two Verſes, the Sence whereof was this :

*Two Oxen yok'd together cut the Earth,
And make the Fields produce a fruitful Birth.*

Now there was no Question, which they could not answer with these two Verſes. For if they were consulted upon a Marriage, it was the same thing, *Oxen yoked together, and a fruitful Birth.* If they were consulted about the Purchase of any Land, again, it was *yoked Oxen, and fruitful Fields.* If about a Journey; *the Oxen yoked together, and so ready to go forth, and the fruitful Fields* promised a great Profit or Success by the Journey. If one went to War, *these Oxen under the Yoke,* do clearly signifie, that you shall put your Enemies under the Yoke. Certainly, this *Goddeſs of Syria* did not love much tatling, and had found out the true ſecret to ſatisfie all Questions

Questions with one single Answer.

Those, who received these ambiguous Oracles, took the pains very willingly to justify them, by adjusting the Success and the Prediction together. And often-times, that which had but one Sence (in the Intention of those who delivered the Oracle,) was after the event, found to have two. For the Impostors might be secure, that their Honour would be preserved with all the Care imaginable by those very Persons whom they abused. Thus, when the false Prophet *Alexander* was asked by *Rutilianus*, what Masters he should provide for his Son; he answered, that he should let him have *Pythagoras*, and *Homer*. *Rutilianus* took it in the plain sence, that he should study Philosophy and Humanity. But the young Man dying within a few days after, they represented to *Rutilianus*, that the Prophet was very much mistaken: But *Rutilianus* found out (with a very great deal of Subtilty) that the Death

Death of his Son was foretold by the Oracle, because it appointed a *Pythagoras* and *Homer*, two dead Men, for his Tutors.

CHAP. XVII.

The Cheats of the Oracles manifestly discovered.

BUT there is now no need of being any further solicitous to detect the cunning of the Priests, by Subtilties spun almost as finely as their own; for they were fully and clearly discovered to the Eyes of the whole World, when the true Religion triumphed entirely over *Paganism*, under the Christian Emperors.

Theodoret, says, that *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, shewed the Inhabitants of that Town, the hollow Statues, into which the Priests privately crept to deliver their Oracles.

When

When by the Order of *Constantine*, the Temple of *Æsculapius*, in *Cilicia*, was pluck'd down, they chased thence, (says *Eusebius*, in the Life of this Emperor,) not a God, nor a Dæmon, but the Cheat, that had so long deluded the People. He adds, that in general, in the demolished Idols, they found no Gods at all, nor Dæmons, nor so much as a melancholy Shade or obscure Specter; but only some Hay, Straw, or Ordures, or the Bones of dead Men. It is from him, that we learn the History of *Theotechnus*, who set up in the City of *Antioch*, the Statue of *Jupiter*, God of *Friendship*; which questionless was contrived to deliver Oracles, since *Eusebius* says, that there were *Prophets* belonging to this God. *Theotechnus*, upon this Account got so great Credit, that *Maximin* made him Governour of all the Province. But *Licinius* coming to *Antioch*, and suspecting the Imposture, caused the Priests and Prophets of this new *Jupiter*, to be tortured with the Rack; hereupon they confessed all, and both

both they and their Accomplices were put to a cruel Death, their Master *Theotechnus* suffering first. The same *Eusebius*, in the fourth Book of his *Evangelical Preparations*, says, that in his time, the most famous Prophets amongst the *Pagans*, and their most celebrated Divines, of whom some were *Magistrates* of their Cities, were compelled by Torments to discover the very particulars of all the Cheats of the *Oracles*. If we were now to make out what the old Christians believed of them, all these Passages of *Eusebius*, in my Opinion, would decide the Question. They admitted *Dæmons* indeed in a certain general System, which served for their Disputes; but when they came to particular matters of Fact, they spoke little of them, or rather directly denied them.

I cannot believe, that we need any better Witnesses against the *Dæmons*, than the *Pagan* Priests themselves, by whose Confessions, the thing seems to me to be clearly made out. I will only therefore add one Chapter about

about their *Lots*; not to discover the Imposture of them, for that is comprehended in what we have already said of *Oracles* in general; and besides it will be sufficiently apparent of its self; but that I may not omit a species of *Oracles* very famous in Antiquity.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Lots.

Lots are the Effects of Chance, and, as it were, the *Oracles* of Fortune, by which she decides all things: And they are the Instruments we make use of, to know what this Decision is.

These *Lots* for the most part were a kind of *Dice*, whereon were ingraven certain Characters, or words, the Explication of which was to be sought for, in Tables made for that purpose. The manner of using these
Lots

Lots was various : In some Temples they cast them out of their Hands, in others they threw them out of an *Urn* ; from whence comes this Proverb so common with the *Greeks*, *the Lot is cast*.

This Game of Chance was always ushered in by Sacrifices, and abundance of Ceremonies. The Priest, as 'tis probable, knew how to *manage the Dice* ; but if they would not take that pains, they might e'en let 'em run as they would, since they were always Masters of the Explanation.

* The *Lacedæmonians* went one day to consult the *Lots* of *Dodona*, upon a War that they were undertaking ; for besides the speaking Oaks, the Doves, the Basons, and the Oracles, there were also *Lots* of *Dodona*. After the Ceremonies were past, just as they were going to cast the *Lots*, with a great deal of Respect and Veneration, a *Monkey* of the King of the *Molossi*, being got into the Temple, threw down the *Lots* and the *Urn* ; upon this the frightened *Priestess* told the *Lacedæmonians*,
that

*Cicero de
Divin. lib.
1.

that they ought not to think of conquering, but only how to save themselves. And all the Writers assure us, that the *Lacedæmonians* never received a more unlucky Prefage.

The most famous *Lots* of all, were those of *Præneste* and *Antium*, two little Towns in *Italy*. At *Antium*, there were wonderful *Statues* that moved of themselves, (according to the Testimony of *Macrobius*, Book 1. Chap. 23.) whose different Motions, either served for Answers, or declared whether it was fitting to consult the *Lots*, or not.

And there is a Passage in *Cicero's* Second Book of *Divination*, which tells us, that they consulted the *Lots* of *Præneste*, with the Consent of *Fortune* ; which implies that the Statue of *Fortune* could nod with its Head, or give some other Signs of its will and Pleasure.

We find also, that there were other *Statues*, which had this very same Faculty. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Quintus Curtius* say, that *Jupiter Hammon* was carried by four-score
L Priests,

Priests, in a kind of golden Chair of State, covered with a rich Canopy, from which hung abundance of silver Cups that made a jangling noise, and that he was followed by a great Number of Women and Maids, who sung Hymns in the Language of their Country; And that this God, by some Motions or Signs that he made, instructed the *Priests* that carried him, which way he would have them go.

The God of *Heliopolis* in *Syria*, according to *Macrobius*, did as much: All the difference was, that he would be carried by Men of the best Quality in the Province, and such as had a long time liv'd in perfect continence, and had their Heads shaved.

Lucian, in his Treatise of the *Goddesses* of *Syria*, says, that he once saw a much more miraculous sort of *Apollo*, who, being carried on the shoulders of his *Priests*, took a fancy to leave them in the lurch below on the Earth, and to take a Walk by himself in the Skies. And that all this should be done in the sight of such

a kind of Man as *Lucian*, is no small Wonder.

But I am so tired with discovering the Cheats of these *Pagan Priests*, (and am perswaded, my Reader is as weary of it as I am my self) that I will not spend any time in considering how it was, that they made their Puppets dance, and play'd all their juggling tricks.

In the *East*, the *Lots* were Arrows, and to this day the *Turks* and *Arabians* make use of them in the same manner. The Prophet *Ezekiel* says, that *Nebucadonosor* mingled his Arrows against *Ammon* and *Hierusalem*, and the predicting Arrow flew towards *Hierusalem*; which decided the Question, against which People he should make War.

In *Greece* and *Italy*, they often drew the *Lot* from some famous Poet, as *Homer* or *Euripides*: And what first presented it self at the opening of the Book, was looked upon to be the Decree of *Heaven*. And History furnishes us with a thousand Examples of this kind.

pridius.
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'Tis evident, that about two hundred Years after the Death of *Virgil*, they set a great Value on his Verses, and began to believe them prophetic, and to use them in stead of the ancient *Lots* of *Prænestæ*. * *Alexander Severus*, in particular, (at a time, when *Heliogabalus* was not much his Friend) received this Answer in the Temple of *Prænestæ* out of *Virgil*.

— *Si qua fatâ aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.*

*If you can vanquish Destiny,
The Great Marcellus you shall be.*

Here my Author remembers, that *Rabelais* mentions the *Virgilian Lot*, which *Panurge* consulted concerning his Marriage: And he judges that Place of the Book, as learned, as 'tis agreeable and full of fancy; he says that the Whimsies and Follies of *Rabelais* are many times more to be esteemed, than the most serious Discourses of others. I would not forget

forget this *Elogy*, because 'tis a thing very singular to meet with, in the midst of a *Treatise* of *Oracles* that is full of knowledge and erudition. 'Tis certain that *Rabelais* had a great deal of Wit and reading, and a particular Art of writing of Learned things in a frolick and jesting way, and of relating a thousand Ridiculous and fantastical stories without being tiresome to his Reader. And 'tis a misfortune that he liv'd not in an Age that would have oblig'd him to a Style more Gentleman like and inoffensive.

These lots were afterwards in use amongst *Christians*; who consulted the Holy Scriptures for that purpose, as the *Pagans* did their *Poets*. Saint *Augustin*, in his 119 *Epistle* to *Januarius*, appears not wholly to disapprove it, unless it be done for some wicked or vain end. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us himself what his practice was: He pass'd seven days in Fasting and Prayer, afterwards he went to the Tomb of Saint *Martin*, where he opened some Book of the Scripture as his fancy led him, and took

for the answer of *God*, the first passage which offer'd its self to his view; and if this passage made nothing for his purpose, then he opened the *Bible* in another place.

Others took the first thing they heard sung when they enter'd into the Church, for a Divine presage.

But who would believe that the *Cedrenus. Emperor * *Heraclius*, deliberating in what place he should Winter his Army, should determine it by this kind of Lot? He purify'd his Army during three days, and afterwards open'd the Book of the *Evangelists*, and there found that *Albany* was mark'd out for his Winter quarters. Was that an affair of which a Man could reasonably hope for a decision in the Scriptures?

At last indeed the Church has quite banished this superstition, but it took up a great deal of time first: For when once our minds are possess'd with an error, 'tis a wonder if ever we will be undeceiv'd.

The end of the first Discourse.

THE

THE

SECOND DISCOURSE.

That Oracles did not cease at the coming of Jesus Christ.

THE greatest difficulty that regards *Oracles* is now surmounted, since we have proved that *Dæmons* were not at all concerned in them. And if this be true, then *Oracles* signify so little to the *Christian Religion*, that there will be no necessity to maintain, that they ceased precisely at the coming of *Jesus Christ*.

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CHAP.

C H A P. I.

The weakness of those reasons upon which the opinion, that Oracles ceased at the coming of Jesus Christ, is founded.

THat which made most Men believe that *Oracles* ceas'd at the coming of *Jesus Christ*, was the prediction of *Oracles* themselves, which foretold their own silence, and the confession of the Heathens that liv'd about the time of *Jesus Christ*; who often speak of their cessation.

We have already shown the falsity of these pretended *Oracles*, in which a *Dæmon* that was struck dumb, said himself that he was struck dumb; but these *Dæmons* were either feign'd by the over great Zeal of the *Christians*, or too easily receiv'd by their credulity.

I will recite one of those *Oracles* upon

upon which *Eusebius* supports his opinion, that they did cease at the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. 'Tis taken from *Porphyrius*; and *Eusebius* never fails of making all the advantage he can of the testimony of this Enemy.

I will declare to you the truth concerning the Oracles of Delphos and Claros, (said Apollo to his Priests.) In times past there came from the Bottom of the Earth an infinity of Oracles and Fountains, and Exhalations, which inspir'd People with Divine furies; but the Earth by the continual changes which time makes in it, has reimbibed and caus'd to enter into its self, all those Fountains, Exhalations and Oracles: and there remains now no more but the Waters of Mycale in the Didymean fields, and the Oracles of Claros, and Parnassus.

Upon this, *Eusebius* concludes in general that all *Oracles* were then come to an end.

But 'tis certain that three of 'em at least are to be excepted, according to

to this *Oracle* which he reports himself: But he takes notice only of those words that make for his purpose, and troubles not himself with the rest.

But besides, does this *Oracle* of *Porphyrius* tell us, when the other *Oracles* ceas'd not at all; tho' *Eusebius* will by all means have it understood to be at the time of the coming of *Jesus Christ*. We may commend his zeal, but his manner of arguing does not at all deserve our Praise.

Nay suppose that *Porphyrius's Oracle* did speak of the coming of *Jesus Christ*, would it follow therefore that all *Oracles* then ceas'd, and that none remain'd? *Eusebius* perhaps imagin'd that this exception signified little, and that it is sufficient if the greatest part of the *Oracles* did then cease; but he is mistaken, for if *Oracles* had been deliver'd by *Dæmons*, who by the birth of *Jesus Christ* were condemn'd to eternal silence, then no *Dæmon* would have been excepted, or privileged. So that if there was but one *Dæmon* remaining after the

the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, it would be sufficient to prove that it was not *His Birth* that impos'd a perpetual silence upon *Oracles*. This is one of those cases, where the least exception ruins the general proposition.

But you may say perhaps, that *Dæmons* at the Birth of *Jesus Christ* did cease to deliver *Oracles*; but that yet *Oracles* continued still for all that, because the *Priests* counterfeited them.

This supposition is without any foundation; for I can prove that *Oracles* continued four hundred years after the Death of *Christ*, and there is no mention any where made of the least difference observ'd between those that were delivered after the Birth of *Jesus*, and those that were pronounced before it. And besides, if the *Priests* could so dextrously put the cheat upon People during the space of four hundred years, why could they not continue to do it longer?

Of all the *Pagan* Authors that are in request with those who would make us believe that *Oracles* ceas'd at the

the coming of *Jesus Christ*, *Plutarch* is the chief: He lived some hundreds of years after *Christ*, and has written a *Dialogue* concerning the cessation of *Oracles*. Many Men upon his Authority only, have taken up their opinions, and espoused their party; and yet *Plutarch* positively excepts the *Oracle* of *Libadia*, (that is to say, of *Trophonius*) and that of *Delphos*: where, as he says, Anciently there was employment enough for two *Priests*, and sometimes for three, but in his daies one served the turn.

Besides, he confesses that the *Oracles* were fallen to decay in *Bæotia*, a Country, which had formerly been famous for producing a great number of them.

All this, 'tis true, proves the cessation of some *Oracles*, and the diminution of the credit of others; but not the intire cessation of all, which however there is an absolute necessity for those to prove, who maintain the common opinion.

The *Oracle* of *Delphos* was not
so

so mightily decay'd in *Plutarch's* time; for he himself tells us in another *Treatise*, that the *Temple* of *Delphos* was then far more magnificent than ever it had been; that they had repaired the Ancient Buildings which time began to ruin, and that they had added others to it, which were altogether after the Modern mode; that there was a small *Town* near *Delphos*, which increas'd daily by little and little, and had its nourishment from the old City, like a little Tree that springs from the foot of a great one; and that this little Town was become more considerable than it had been for a thousand years past. But even in this *Dialogue*, which treats of the cessation of *Oracles*, *Demetrius* the *Cilician*, one of the interlocutors, says, that before he began his Voyage, the *Oracles* of *Amphilochus* and *Mopsus* were as flourishing as ever; but that since he came from thence he knew not how things stood with 'em. You see then what is to be found in favour of the *cessation of Oracles* at
the

the coming of *Christ* in this Treatise of *Plutarch*, to which a Multitude of Learned Men referr you for the Proof of it.

Here my Author pretends, that we are also fallen into a gross-mistake, concerning a Passage in the second Book of *Divinations*: Where *Cicero* laughs at the Oracle, that was delivered by *Apollo* in *Latin* to *Pyrrhus*, who consulted him concerning the War, he was going to make against the *Romans*. This Oracle had a double meaning, so that it could not be understood, whether *Pyrrhus* should overcome the *Romans*, or the *Romans* overcome *Pyrrhus*. The Equivocation is so peculiar to the *Latin* Phrase, that one cannot well render it into *English*; for my part, I cannot translate it better than thus:

*I do pronounce that Rome
Pyrrhus shall overcome.*

But the Words of *Cicero*, concerning this Oracle, are these that follow.

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In the first Place, (says he,) Apollo never spoke Latin; in the second Place, the Greeks knew nothing of this Oracle; thirdly, Apollo in the time of Pyrrhus had left off Rhiming; in fine, although the Æacides (from which Family Pyrrhus was descended,) were far from being Men of a fine Judgment, or of a Piercing Wit, yet the Equivocation of the Oracle was so manifest, that Pyrrhus could not chuse but perceive it. But why is it so long since any Oracles were delivered in this kind at Delphos? For this Reason it is, that now adays nothing is more despised than they are.

It is on these last words, that the Opinion is grounded, that Oracles were not delivered at *Delphos* in the time of *Cicero*.

But my Author says, that they are deceived, who think so, and that these Words, *Why are there no more Oracles delivered in this kind at Delphos?* Plainly shew, that *Cicero* speaks only of Oracles in Verse: Since he is discoursing in that Place about one wrapp'd up in an *Hexameter*. But

But I know not whether we ought to be altogether of my Author's Opinion; for observe how *Cicero* goes on. *When the Defenders of Oracles are hard put to it; they answer, that this Virtue in the Exhalation of the Earth, which inspired the Pythian Priestess, is evaporated with length of time. One would think that they were talking of some Wine that was grown flat, and that had lost its Spirits; for what time can consume, or dry up a Vertue all Divine? And what can be more Divine than an Exhalation from the Earth, which works such an Effect upon the Soul, as to give it both the Knowledge of Futurity, and the Power to express its self in Verse.*

It seems to me, that *Cicero* means, that the whole Virtue was intirely lost: Whereas he would have acknowledged, that a good part of it had remained, if Oracles were still delivered at *Delphos*, though but in Prose. For no Man will say, that a Prophecy is nothing at all, unless it be in Verse?

I do not think, that they are so mightily mistaken, who take this Passage for an absolute Proof of the entire Cessation of Oracles at *Delphos*; but they do ill, who pretend to draw any Argument from thence, for attributing this Cessation to the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. For the Oracle ceased too soon for that, since it appears by this very Passage, that it ceased a long time before *Cicero*.

But for all this, the thing was not in Truth, as *Cicero* seems to understand it in this Place. For he himself, in his First Book of *Divinations*, makes his Brother *Quintus*, who stands up for Oracles, to speak in this manner. *I relie upon this Point, that the Oracle of Delphos had never been so famous, and had never received so many offerings from Kings and all sorts of People, if the Truth of its Predictions had not been acknowledged. Now indeed it is not so famous, because its Predictions are less true: And so, on the other side, if they had not been once extremely true, it would never have been so mighty famous*

heretofore as it was. But (which is yet a stronger Proof) *Cicero* himself (as *Plutarch* relates in his Life) did in his Youth consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, concerning the Conduct he ought to keep in the World: and 'twas answered him, that he should follow his *Genius*, rather than conform himself to the Opinion of the Vulgar. Now if it were not true, that *Cicero* consulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, yet, at least, this Story obliges us to grant, that in the time of *Cicero*, it was consulted.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Why the Ancient Authors contradicted each other, very often, about the time of the Cessation of Oracles.

PERHAPS, it may be objected, How comes it to pass then, that in the fifth Book of *Lucan's Pharsalia*, we find this Account of the Oracle of *Delphos*? *The Oracle of Delphos, which has been silent ever since Great Men were afraid of what was to come to pass, and forbid that the Gods should declare it, is the most considerable of all those Favours of Heaven, which our Age has lost.*

And a little after, *Appius*, who was desirous to know the Destiny of Italy, had the Boldness, to go and interrogate this Cavern, that had been mute so long; and to move the *Tripos*, that had been so long undisturbed. And that *Juvenal* says in a certain

tain Place, *Since the Oracles speak no more at Delphos*——

In fine, whence comes it, that among the Authors of the same Age, we find some, who say, the *Oracle of Delphos* speaks no more, and others that say, he speaks still? And whence comes it, that the same Author sometimes contradicts himself so often upon this Subject?

The Reason most certainly is, because *Oracles* were neither in their Ancient Reputation, nor yet were they absolutely ruined: So, that one may well say, that in Comparison of what they had formerly been, they were nothing; but yet, for all that, they continued to be something still.

Besides, some *Oracles* were ruined for a certain time, and afterwards came into Credit again; for *Oracles* were subject to several Adventures and Misfortunes: And we ought not to believe them annihilated from the time of their being mute; for they might afterwards assume a Voice again and speak.

Plutarch

Plutarch says, that in old time a *Dragon* came and lodg'd upon *Parnassus* and caus'd the *Delphick Oracle* to be deserted, and that it was commonly believ'd, that solitude invited the *Dragon* to that place; but that 'twas more probable that he caus'd the solitude, *Greece* being fill'd with Cities, &c.

You see that *Plutarch* speaks of a time very far distant back. So the *Oracle* had since its erection been once abandon'd already, and we are sure that afterwards it was very well re-establish'd. But after this, the *Temple of Delphos* underwent divers misfortunes. It was plundered by a Thief descended from *Phlegias*, by the Army of *Xerxes*, by the *Phocenses*, by *Pyrrhus*, by *Nero*; and last of all, by the *Christians* under *Constantine*. All this did no great good to the *Oracle*, for the *Priests* were either massacred, or dispers'd, the place was abandon'd, the Sacred utensils were lost, and it must of necessity require great charges, care,

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and

and time, to rigg out these *Oracles* again fit for holy use.

All this then may be possible, that *Cicero* in his Youth consulted the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, that during the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and in that general disorder of the Universe, the *Oracle* was mute, as *Lacan* will have it; and that after the end of this War, when *Cicero* writ his Book of Philosophy, it might begin to be re-established so much, as to make *Quintus* say it was still in the World; and yet so little, that *Cicero* might suppose that it was not in being.

When *Dorimachus*, as *Polybius* reports, had burnt the *Portico* of the *Temple* of *Dodona*, had quite destroy'd the Sacred Place of the *Oracle*, and had pillag'd, or ruin'd all the offerings, an Author of that time might very well say that the *Oracle* of *Dodona* spoke no more. But for all this, in the following age, another Author might be found transmitting to posterity some of the answers, which it gave in his time,

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Duration of the Oracle of Delphos, and some other Oracles.

WE cannot better prove, that about the time of *Jesus Christ*, to which the silence of the *Delphick Oracle* is so usually referred, it did not altogether cease, but was only interrupted, than by setting down all the different occasions that we find it took of speaking since.

Suetonius in the Life of *Nero* says that he, consulting the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, was warn'd to have a care of seventy three years; and that thereupon *Nero* believ'd, he should not Die till that Age, and never thought of old *Galba*, who being seventy three years old took his Empire from him. For he was so conceited of his long life and good fortune, that having lost in a Ship-wrack things of a very

M 4 great

great value, he bragg'd that the fishes would bring 'em back to him again.

But certainly *Nero* either receiv'd from the *Oracle of Delphos* some o'ther answer that seem'd less favourable to him, or was discontented that he was destin'd to live no longer than Seventy three years, or else he would never have took from the *Priests of Delphos* the *Cirrhaean Fields*, to give them to his Soldiers. He also took from the *Temple* more than five hundred Statues, some of Men, and, some of Gods, but all of Brass; and to prophane or for ever abolish the *Oracle*, he caus'd several Mens Throats to be cut at the very Mouth of the Sacred Cavern, where the Divine exhalation issued forth.

That the *Oracle* after such an adventure as this, should be mute till the Reign of *Domitian*, and, as *Juvenal* says, should speak no more, is not at all to be wonder'd at.

And yet 'tis impossible it could be altogether mute from the time of *Nero* to that of *Domitian*; for observe what *Philostratus* saies in the Life

Dion
Cassius.
Pausanias.

Life of *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, who came to the Court of *Domitian*: *Apollonius visited all the Oracles of Greece, that of Dodona, that of Delphos, and that of Amphiaraus.* And in another place he speaks yet farther: *You may see Apollo of Delphos made illustrious by the Oracles which he delivers in the midst of Greece; he answers those who consult him, as you know very well your self, in very few words, and without accompanying his answers with prodigies; altho it were very easie for him to make Parnassus tremble, to stop the course of Cephissus, and to change the Waters of Castalia into Wine; but he tells the truth plainly and does not amuse himself to make an unprofitable shew of his power.* 'Tis very pleasant that *Philostratus* should expect to have the greater value set upon this *Apollo*, because he was no great worker of Miracles. But I think there lurks in this place some secret Poison against the *Christians*.

We formerly acquainted you, that in the time of *Plutarch*, who lived under

der *Trajan*, this Oracle was yet in being, but reduc'd to one single Priestess, tho' in elder times it had two or three. Under *Adrian*, *Dion Chrysostom* says, that he consulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, and relates one of its answers, which seem'd to him to be very intricate, and which was so indeed.

Under the *Antonini*, *Lucian* says, that a Priest of *Tyana*, went to demand of the false Prophet *Alexander*, if the Oracles that were deliver'd then at *Didymi*, at *Claros*, and at *Delphos*, were indeed the answers of *Apollo*, or impostures. *Alexander* who had a regard for these Oracles, which were so like his own, answered the Priest, that it was a secret not fit for him to know. But when this wise Priest demanded what he should be after his death, he was answered boldly, *Thou shalt be a Camel, then a Horse, then a Philosopher, and at last a Prophet as great as Alexander*.

After the *Antonini*, three Emperors disputed the Empire, *Severus* *Septimus*, *Pescennius Niger*, and *Clodi-*

us Albinus. *Delphos* was consulted, says *Spartianus*, to know which would be best for the Commonwealth; and the Oracle answered in Verse, *The Black is the best, the African is good, but the White is the worst of all*. By the *Black* was meant *Pescennius Niger*; by the *African*, *Severus Septimus*, who was of *Africa*; and by the *White*, *Clodius Albinus*. It was ask'd afterwards, *Who should remain Master of the Empire*; and it was answer'd, *The blood of the White and the Black shall be spilt, and the African shall govern the World*. Then it was demanded, *how long time he should govern*; and it was answered, *He shall ride on the Sea of Italy with twenty Ships, tho' with one Ship he may cross the Sea*. By which it is meant that *Severus* should reign twenty years. Here the Oracle reserv'd to it self an obscure meaning, to have recourse to in time of need. But yet in the times when *Delphos* was most Flourishing, there were never better or more substantial Oracles than these.

We

We find nevertheless, that *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Exhortations to the *Gentiles*, which he composed, either under *Severus*, or about that time, says very plainly, that the Fountain of *Castalia*, which belonged to the Oracle of *Delphos*, and that of *Colophon* and all the other Prophetick Fountains, had at last, tho it were late first, lost their fabulous Virtues.

Perhaps in that time, these Oracles were fallen into one of those Silences, to which they were so subject by Intervals: Or perhaps, because they were no more in Reputation, *Clemens Alexandrinus* thought fit to say, they were totally silenced.

'Tis certain, that under *Constantinus*, the Father of *Constantine*, and during the Youth of *Constantine*, *Delphos* was not yet ruined; since *Eusebius* writes in the Life of *Constantine*, that he said, that there was then a Report, that *Apollo* had delivered an Oracle, not by the Mouth of a *Priestess*, but from the bottom of the obscure Cavern, which said---

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That the Just Men, who were upon Earth, were the Cause, that he could not speak Truth. A very pleasant Reason this! Besides the Oracle of *Delphos* must then necessarily be in a very miserable Condition, since it could not maintain one *Priestess*.

But this Oracle received a terrible Blow under *Constantine*, who commanded, or suffered, that *Delphos* should be pillaged. Then, says *Eusebius* in the Life of *Constantine*, they produced in the open view of all the People, in the Publick Places of *Constantinople*, those Statues, which the Errors of Men had caused to be so long Time the object of Veneration and Worship; here *Apollo Pythius*, there *Smithius*. The Tripodes were exposed in the Circus and the *Heliconian Muses* in the Palace, to the raileries of all the World.

But after all this, the Oracle of *Delphos* came into credit once again; for the Emperor * *Julian* sent to enquire of it, about the Expedition, that he was designing against the *Persians*. If the Oracle of *Delphos* did

• Theoderet.

did continue any longer, we cannot however extend its History farther; for there is no more spoken of it in any Author. But in all likelihood, that was the very time, when it became silent, and its last Words were addressed to the Emperor *Julian*, who was so zealous for *Paganism*. I cannot therefore well understand, how some Great Men could put *Augustus* in the Place of *Julian*, and boldly affirm, that the Oracle of *Delphos* ended with the Answer it delivered to *Augustus*, concerning the *Hebrew Infant*. Some * Modern Authors, who thought Oracles worthy of a *Glorious End*, since they made so great a Noise in the World, have contrived one very fit, to give them a Reputation. They found in *Sozomenus* and *Theodoretus*, that in the time of *Julian*, the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphne*, was set on Fire, no Body being able to discover the Author, or Cause of it; but the *Pagans* accused the *Christians* of this Conflagration, and the *Christians* attributed

* Melan-
thon.
P. Peucer.
Boissard
Hospin.

buted it to Thunder and Lightning thrown by the Hand of God. *Theodoretus* indeed says, that the Lightning fell upon this Temple, but *Sozomenus* says nothing at all of it. Now these Modern Authors had a Mind to transplant this Accident to the Temple of *Delphos*, which was indeed far distant from thence. And so they write, that by the just Vengeance of God, it was destroyed by Lightning, accompanied with a mighty Earth-quake. But there is no mention made of this great trembling of the Earth, neither by *Sozomenus*, nor *Theodoret*, in their Relation of the Fire of *Daphne*; though others added it, to keep the Thunder Company, and to heighten the Prodigiousness of the Accident.

But it would be a very troublesome thing, to give you a History of the Duration of all the Oracles, after the birth of *Jesus Christ*. It is sufficient to consider in what time we find, that some of the principal *Ones* spoke their last. But you must always remember, that it is not understood, that

that this was the *very last* time they spoke, but that it was the last Occasion Authors had to tell us that they spoke.

Dion, who did not finish his History, till the eighth Year of *Alexander Severus*, that is, in the 230 Year of *Jesus Christ*, says, that in his time, *Amphilochus* delivered Oracles in Dreams: He tells us also, that there was in the City of *Apollonia* an Oracle, where things to come were foretold by observing the manner how the Fire took hold of the Incense, that was cast upon the Altar. But it was not permitted to ask this Oracle any Questions concerning Death or Marriage. These peevish Restrictions were sometimes founded upon the particular History of the *God*, who in his Life-time, perhaps had an Occasion given him of taking an Aversion to certain things: Though I am also of Opinion, that they might sometimes come from the ill Success, which those Answers had, that were delivered by the Oracle, concerning some particular Matters.

* Under

* Under *Aurelius*, towards the Year of *Christ* 272, the *Palmyrenians* being revolted, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo Sarpedonius* in *Cilicia*. They consulted likewise that of *Venus* of *Aphaca*; the Form of which was so very singular, that it deserves to be mentioned here. *Aphaca*, is a Place between *Heliopolis* and *Biblus*. Near the Temple of *Venus* is a Lake like a Cittern: And at certain Assemblies, that are held there at some particular Seasons, there is to be seen a Fire in the Form of a Globe of Lamps: And this Fire, says *Zosimus*, has continued to be seen even in our Days, that is to say, about the 400 Year of *Jesus Christ*. Those that offer, throw into the Lake the Present designed for the Goddess, of what sort soever they be; if she receives them, they sink to the bottom; if she receives them not, they swim on the Surface of the Water, though they be of Silver, or Gold. In the Year before the Ruin of the *Palmyrenians*, their Presents sunk to the bottom, but the Year following every thing swam on the top.

N

* *Licinius*

Zosimus.

* Zosim.

* *Licinius* having a Design, to renew his War with *Constantine*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo Didymæus*, and had for Answer two Verses of *Homer*, of which this is the Sense: *Unhappy old Man! It is not for thee to fight against Young Men; thou hast not Strength enough left, for old Age pulls thee down.*

* *Ammian. Marcellinus.*

* A God, of no great Reputation, named *Befas*, delivered Oracles in Answer to Letters at *Abydum*, a Town in the Confines of *Thebais*, under the Empire of *Constantius*. For there were sent to this Emperor certain Letters, which had been left upon the Altar, in the Temple of *Befas*; upon which, he began to make a very rigorous Prosecution against those who had laid those Letters there; and cast into Prison, or sent to Banishment a great Number of Persons, or else caused them to be cruelly tormented: Because by these Letters, they enquired after the Fate of the Empire, or concerning the Duration of the Reign of *Constantius*, or the Success of some Designs, which

which they were framing against him.

In fine, *Macrobius*, who lived under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, Sons of *Theodosius*, speaks of the God of *He-liopolis* in *Syria*, and of his Oracle, and of the Lots of *Antium*, in terms which positively prove that they were all remaining in his time.

But here we must observe, that it is of no absolute necessity to our design, that all these Histories should be true, or that these Oracles did really deliver those very answers which are attributed to 'em; for the very counterfeiting of answers, implies that the Oracles were in being when those answers were pretended to be delivered by them: and 'tis most plain by the Histories, which so many Authors have written of 'em, that they did not believe that they were wholly silenc'd in their days.

C H A P. IV.

That Oracles for the most part were abolish'd at the same time with Heathenism.

O *Oracles* for the most part ceas'd when *Heathenism* was abolish'd, which was not immediately after the coming of *Jesus Christ*. For *Constantine* himself demolished but a few *Temples*, and he was fain to make the horrid Crimes that were perpetrated there, his pretence for pulling 'em down. On this pretext he plucked down the *Temple* of * *Venus Aphacitis*, and that of * *Æsculapius* of *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*, in both of which there were *Oracles*. But yet he * prohibited Sacrificing to the *Heathen Gods*, and by that edict began to make their *Temples* of no use. The *Edicts* of *Constantinus* and of *Julian* (when *Constantinus* had but newly declared him *Cæsar*) are still extant, wherein on pain of Death they forbid all sorts of

* Zosi-
mus

* Eusebius.

* Theodo-
retus.

Divi-

Divination, not only *Astrology*, interpretation of *Dreams* and *Magick*, but also foretelling by the flights of *Birds*, and by the entrails of *Beasts*; which gave a mighty shock to the *Religion* of the *Romans*. And indeed the *Emperors* had a particular interest in prohibiting all kinds of fortune-telling, because one or other was always inquiring about their *Destiny*, and especially to know who was to be the next *Successor*, who usually, upon the flattery of the *Diviner*, made a revolt, and set up his own claim to the *Empire*.

As there were many *Oracles* remaining, when *Julian* was proclaim'd *Emperor*, so he apply'd himself, as much as he could, to the restoration of those that had been destroyed. For example, that of the Suburbs of *Daphne* was destroyed by *Adrian*, * who when he was a private Man, having dipt a leaf in the *Castalian Spring*, (for there was one of this Name at *Daphne* as well as at *Delphos*,) found when he took it out of the Water, a Narrative of

* *Soxomen*.

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what

what was to befall him, and Advice to think of obtaining the Empire. And therefore when he was afterwards made Emperor, least the same Oracle should give the like counsel to some body else, he caus'd the Sacred Spring to be choak'd up, by throwing a great quantity of Stones into it. There was a great deal of ingratitude in this procedure; but *Julian* * caus'd the spring to be opened, the Dead Bodies, which were Buried near it, to be removed, and the place to be Purified in the same manner as the *Athenians* had in former time purged the *Island of Delos*. But *Julian* went farther, and would needs be himself the Prophet of the *Didymæan Oracle*; for this he thought would be a means of bringing Prophecies into credit again, which then lay under much contempt. As he was Emperor he was (*Pontifex Maximus*, or) *Chiefest Priest*; and tho the Emperors had not been accustomed to make any great use of this *Sacerdotal dignity*; yet he was

* Ammianus
Marcellinus.

was resolved to make it more than an empty Title: And therefore we see that, in one of those Letters of his, which are come to our view, in the quality of *Pontifex maximus* he suspends a *Pagan Priest* for three years from the exercise of his Sacred function. And the Letter, which he wrote to *Arfaces*, *Pontifex of Galatia*, acquaints us with the way which he took to make *Paganism* flourish again: He congratulates in the first place his own felicity, in that his zeal had produced such great effects in so short a time; and then he declares his judgment to be, that the best means for the re-establishment of *Heathenism* would be, to transplant the virtues of *Christianity* into it, such as Charity towards Strangers, the care of Burying the Dead decently, and that Sanctity of Life which the *Christians*, as he says, counterfeited so well. He therefore commands that *Pontifex* to oblige the *Priests* of *Galatia*, either by arguments or threats, to live regularly, to abstain from the publick shows and Tipling-houses;

to quit all sordid and infamous employments, to addict themselves, with all their Family, only to the Service of the Gods, and to have a watchful eye upon the *Galileans*, (so he scornfully calls the *Christians*,) and to suppress their impieties and profanations. He observes, that it is a great shame, that whilst the *Jews* and *Galileans* maintain'd not only their own poor, but such as were *Heathens* too, the *Pagans* should let their poor starve, and not remember that Hospitality and Liberality are virtues so peculiar and proper to 'em, that *Homer* brings in *Eumæus* speaking thus: *My guest, if a Man of quality much inferior to thine, had come hither, I must have entertain'd him; for all Men that are either strangers or Poor come to us, as it were on an errand from Jupiter; and tho' I have but little to give, yet I give that little with cheerfulness.* Last of all, he sets down what distributions he appoints to be made each year to the Poor of *Galatia* and bids the *Pontifex* take care that there be Hospitals

Built

Built in each Town for the reception of Men of other Religions as well as *Heathens*. He thinks it not befitting the dignity of the *Pontifex* to make frequent visits to the Governors at their Houses, but that he rather write to 'em; nor will he have the *Priests* go meet 'em, when they come into any Town; but when they come to the *Temples*, the *Priests* may go to receive 'em as far as the *Porch*, but no farther. He also forbids the Governors on such an occasion to have their Guards Marching before them, because they are then to be considered only as private Persons; but he gives the Soldiers leave to go in after them, if they will.

With this care, and this imitation of Christianity, it is probable that *Julian* (if he had lived) would have put some stop to the ruine of his Religion; but it pleased God to cut him off before he had reigned two years.

Jovian, who succeeded him, began to endeavour zealously the destruction of *Heathenism*; but in the seven

Months

Months of his Reign it was not possible for him to make any great progress.

Valens, who had the *Eastern Empire*, gave liberty of conscience to all Men to worship what *Gods* they listed, and was himself more inclined to support *Arianism* than *Christianity*. * So that during his Reign Sacrifices were publickly made, and Men eat the flesh of the Victims offered up to *Idols*. The *Bacchanalian* Mysteries were celebrated openly; they ran up and down with their *Thyrsi* in their hands; they tore Dogs in pieces, and committed all the other extravagances which are suitable to that Devotion.

Valentinian, his Brother, who had the *Western Empire*, was more zealous for the glory of *Christianity*; but yet his conduct was not so steady, as it should have been. He had made a law to forbid all sorts of Nocturnal Ceremonies; whereupon *Prætextatus*, the *Proconsul* of *Greece*, represented to him, that if he took away from the *Greeks* those Ceremo-

*Theod.
Lib. 5.

nies, to which they were so mightily addicted, they would lead their Lives unpleasantly. This prevailed with *Valentinian*, and he consented, that notwithstanding his Law, they might keep their old Customs. It is true, that we have this account from *Zosimus* a *Pagan* Historian: and one may say, that he invented it, to make us believe that the *Pagans* were still in some credit with the Emperors; but we answer, that *Zosimus* considering the condition which his Religion was in, was more likely to have been in an humor of complaining of severities that were not acted, than of pleasing himself with the recital of a favour that was never shown. But this is certain however, that there are Old Inscriptions at *Rome*, and in other Cities of *Italy*, by which it is manifest, that under the Reign of *Valentinian*, Persons of great quality celebrated the Sacrifices called *Taurobolia* and *Criobolia*, that is to say, *The sprinkling of Bulls Blood and Rams Blood*. Nay by the great number of those Inscriptions one would be made

made to think that those Ceremonies were the principal ones in fashion, during the time of this *Valentinian*, and the two other Emperors of the same Name.

Now they being the oddest and most singular of all the *Heathen* Rites, I suppose that a description of 'em will not be irksome to the Reader. *Prudentius*, who perhaps had seen them, sets 'em down at length. There was a deep *Pit* digged, into which the person, for whom the Ceremonies were performed, descended with Sacred *Ribon*s and a *Crown* upon his Head, and in a dress altogether *Myfterious*. Over the *Pit* they placed a Covering made of Planks pierced through with a great many Holes: Upon this Covering they brought a *Bull* adorned with a Garland of Flowers and little plates of Gold hanging upon his Horns and Forehead. Then his throat was Cut with a Sacred Knife, and his Blood dropt down through the holes that were in the Planks into the *Pit*, whilst the Person that stood there, received

ceived it with much devotion, catching it on his forehead, his Cheeks, his Arms, his shoulders, and every part of his Body, and being industrious that not one drop should fall any where but on himself. At last out he came, a frightful spectacle, all dawb'd with blood, and his Hair, Beard and Cloaths still dropping with it; but his comfort was, that his Sins were all wash'd away, and he was regenerated to all Eternity: For, as it appears by the Inscriptions, this Sacrifice was to those who celebrated it, a *Myftical* and *Eternal* Regeneration. But unless it were renewed once in twenty years, it would lose its force, and the perpetuity of its duration. And Women, as well as Men, were capable of this Regeneration; and those, who were not at the Ceremony, might receive the benefit of it by Association: Nay, which is most remarkable of all, whole *Cities* sometimes performed it by Proxy or Deputation. This Sacrifice was now and then made for the Emperors health: and the *Provinces* made their Court

Court to him by sending some Person in their name to bedawb himself with *Bulls-Blood*, for the obtaining of a long and happy Life for the Emperor. All this may be prov'd out of the old Inscriptions.

But now we come to *Theodosius* and his Sons, who put a full Period to *Pagan* superstitions.

Theodosius began first in *Egypt*, where he caused all the *Temples* to be shut up: At last he went so far as to demolish the *Temple of Serapis*, which was the most famous of 'em all. And as *Strabo* informs us, there was nothing more Glorious in the whole *Heathen Religion* than the *Pilgrimages* which were made to *Serapis*. When the time, says he, of certain Festivals was near at hand, it is hard to believe what a multitude of People went down the River from *Alexandria* to *Canopus*, where this Temple stood. Day and Night there was nothing to be seen, but Boats full of Men and Women, Singing and Dancing with all the liberty imaginable. At *Canopus* there were

were a vast number of Inns on the River side, which were of use for the entertainment of the Passengers and accommodating them in their diversifements. And therefore the Sophister *Eunapius*, who was a *Pagan*, seems to have had a mighty concern for the *Temple of Serapis*, and with Gall enough he describes its destruction. Men (says he) that had never heard the sound War, shew'd themselves mighty Valiant against the Stones of this Temple, but especially against the rich Offerings, which it was full of: And in those Holy Places they put *Monks*, a People (says he) infamous and useless; who, because they wear a black and slovenly Habit, arrogate to themselves a Tyrannical Authority over the minds of Men; and instead of those Gods which the light of our natural Reason discovers to us, they set up for objects of our Adoration, the heads of Malefactors who were executed for their Crimes, which they salt to preserve 'em from Corruption. Thus does this impious wretch treat *Monks* and Relicks; and certainly

certainly the Liberty of those times was very great, when such Invectives were written against the *Emperors Religion*. *Ruffinus* informs us, that the Temple of *Serapis* was found to be full of secret Passages, and Machines contrived for the Impostures of the Priests. He tells us, amongst other things, that on the East side of the Temple there was a little Window, through which, on a certain day of the Year, the Sun Beams entring, fell just upon the Mouth of *Serapis*: At the same time, an Image of the *Sun* made of Iron was brought in, which being attracted by a great Loadstone fixed in the Cieling, ascended up to the Image of *Serapis*. Then they cried out, that the *Sun* saluted their *God*: But when the Iron Image fell down again, and the Sun-Beams went off from *Serapis's* Mouth, they said, that the *Sun*, having finished his Complement, was retired, to go about his own Affairs.

After that *Theodosius* had defeated the Rebel *Eugenius*, he went to *Rome*, where

where still the whole *Senate* stood up for *Paganism*. Their chiefest Reason was, because, for twelve hundred Years, *Rome* had thriven well enough with its Gods, from whom it had received all sorts of Prosperity. The *Emperor* made a Speech in the *Senate-House*, perswading them to embrace the *Christian Religion*; but they replied, that by Custom and Experience, they had found *Paganism* to be a good and convenient *Religion*; and if they should change it for that of the Christians, they could not foresee what might be the Event. Was not this fine *Theology*, for the *Roman-Senate*? *Theodosius* finding, that this was not the way to deal with them, told them, that the publick Treasury was too much exhausted by making chargeable Sacrifices, and that he had Occasion to imploy that Money in paying his Armies. They replied, that their Sacrifices would not be acceptable, unless they were made at the Charge of the Publick. But that inconvenience was no Argument with him:

So he put an end to all Sacrifices and old Ceremonies. And *Zosimus* does not let slip the Occasion of observing, that from that time forwards all sorts of Misfortunes happened to the *Roman Empire*.

The same Author tells us, that when *Theodosius* made that Voyage to *Rome*, *Serena*, the Wife of *Stilicon*, entred into the Temple of the *Mother of the Gods*, to put some Affront upon her, and that she made bold to convert to her own use a fair Neck-lace, which the *Goddeſs* wore: This an old *Vestal* Virgin reproved her very sharply for, and, as she went out of the Temple, followed her, cursing her with a thousand Imprecations. After which, says *Zosimus*, the poor *Serena* was often frightened (both waking and sleeping) with a certain Apparition, that threatned her with sudden Death.

But the last Efforts of *Paganism* were those made by *Symmachus*, to obtain of the Emperors, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, the Re-establishment of the Privileges of the *Vestals*,

Vestals, and of the Altar of *Victory* in the *Capitol*; but all the World knows with what Vigour *St. Ambrose* opposed him. Yet it appears by the very Proceedings in that Contention, that *Rome* did in those days retain a strong Tincture of *Paganism*. For *St. Ambrose* asks *Symmachus*, why the *Pagans* are not contented with having the Publick Places, Portico's and Baths filled with their *Idols*, and if nothing will serve their turns, unless the Altar of *Victory* be set up in the very *Capitol*, which is the Place of the whole City, whither most Christians resort; that the *Christians*, says he, may, whether they will or no, have the Smoak of the Sacrifices blown in their Eyes, the Musick in their Ears, the Ashes in their Throats, and the Incense in their Noses.

Nay, even when *Rome* was besieged by *Alaricus*, in the Reign of *Honorius*, it was still full of *Idols*. *Zosimus* complains, that all things conspiring to the Ruin of that unhappy City, the *Gods* were not only robbed of their Ornaments, but even

some of those that were of Gold or Silver were themselves melted down; of which Number was the Goddess of *Fortitude*, which from that time forward wholly abandoned the *Romans*. Though this be a lucky hit, yet *Zosimus* will never make it pass upon us for the true cause of the taking of that City.

I am in some suspense, whether upon the Credit of this Author, we may admit the following Story to be true. *Honorius* forbid all Persons that were not of the Christian Religion, to appear at *Court*, with a Shoulder-belt, or to have any Military Command. *Generidus*, a *Pagan* and *Barbarian* too, but a Man of great Courage, who commanded the Troops that lay in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, came no more into the Emperor's Presence, laid aside his Shoulder-belt, and forbore to exercise his Charge. *Honorius* one day asked him, how it came to pass, that he came not to *Court* in his Turn, as it was his Duty to do? To which he replied, That there was a Law made, that

that dispossessed him of his Belt, and his Command. The *Emperor* told him, that Law was not for such Men as he was; but he answered, that he could not take the Benefit of any Distinction that separated him from those who professed the same Worship with himself. In effect, he would not undertake to act again in his Command, till the Emperor himself, compelled to it by Necessity, repealed that Law. If this Story be true, then we may easily judge that *Honorius* contributed very little to the down-fall of the *Heathen* Religion.

But at last all Exercise of that Religion was prohibited on Pain of Death, by an Edict of the Emperors *Valentinian the Third*, and *Martian*, in the Year of Christ 451. and this was the last Blow given to that Superstition. And yet we find, that those very Emperors, who were so zealous for the Advancement of Christianity, did, for all that, themselves retain some Relicks of *Heathenism*, which served to augment their Au-

thority. As for Example, they still took upon them the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, that is to say, *Chief Patriarch* (as it were) of those who divined by the Flights of *Birds*, and the Entrails of *Beasts*, and of all the Colleges of *Pagan Priests*, and Supreme Head of all the ancient Romish Idolatry.

Zosimus pretends that *Constantine the Great*, *Valentinian* and *Valens* willingly accepted from the *Heathen Priests* both the Title and Habit of that Dignity, which according to Custom was presented to them at their Accession to the Empire; but that *Gratian* refused the Pontifical Office; which being related to the *Priests*, the principal amongst them replied in a great heat: *Si princeps non vult appellari Pontifex, admodum brevi Pontifex Maximus fiet.* The Sharpness of which saying lies wholly in the Latin words, and it was grounded on the Revolt of *Maximus* against *Gratian* at that time, with a Design to strip him of the Empire.

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But the old *Inscriptions* still remaining, are a Testimony of this matter, more to be credited than *Zosimus*. There we see the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* given to the *Christian Emperors*, even in the sixth Century. Two hundred years after Christianity had ascended the Throne, the **Emperor Justin* amongst his other Titles assumes that of *Pontifex Maximus* in an *Inscription*, which he had caused to be made for the City of *Justinopolis* in *Istria*, which was called by his Name.

* *Gruterus.*

To be one of the *Gods* of a false Religion was surely much worse than to be the *Pontifex Maximus* of it. Now the *Heathens* erected the *Roman Emperors* into *Gods*: And well they might, seeing they made the City of *Rome* a *Goddeß*. The *Emperors*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, tho' they were *Christians*, permitted *Symmachus*, that great Defender of the *Heathen Religion*, to give them the Title of (*Vestra Divinitas*, or) *Your Divinity*: Which could be only

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taken in the Sence, and according to the Custom, of the *Pagans*. And in some Inscriptions, which were set up in Honour of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, these following Words are to be found; *Devotus Numini Majestatiq; eorum*, that is, *Devoted to their Divinity and Majesty*.

But the Christian Emperors went farther than the bare receiving of those Titles; for they gave them to themselves: As appears by the Constitutions (or Laws) of *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, *Honorius* and *Arcadius*; wherein they sometimes call their Edicts, *Heavenly Statutes*, and *Divine Oracles*: And sometimes they say expressly, *The most happy Expedition of our Divinity*, &c.

It may be said, that this was nothing but the *Stile* of the Court of Chancery; but it was certainly an unjustifiable and ridiculous *Stile* under the *Heathen* Religion its self, and a blasphemous one under the *Christian*. And therefore it is very wonderful, that such like Extravagancies should become so familiar and common

mon a way of speaking, that they were in every Bodies Mouth.

The Truth is, that *Flattery*, which Subjects are so apt to bestow upon their Sovereigns, and the natural *Fondness* which *Princes* have for *Praise*, made the Custom of using these *Expressions*, last longer than it ought to have done. I confess that the *Flattery* and the *Fondness* in this Case were each of them very extraordinary in its kind: And it is no wonder, since they are things incapable of being limited to any bounds. That a Man should be in earnest when he gives another *Man* the Title of a *God* is hard to conceive, and yet the frequency takes off the Wonder; but that this Man should accept the Title, and that with so much easiness, as by Degrees to come to the giving of it to himself (and all this while have a right Notion of what is truly called God,) This, I say, is a thing that I know not how to give such an Account of, as will save the Honour of Humane Nature.

As

As for the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, I do not see what was in it, that could flatter the Vanity of the Christian Emperors into the making it so much their Interest to conserve it: But, perhaps, they thought that it was of some use for the imprinting of a respectful Awe in the Minds of those that were still of the *Heathen* Religion: Or, it may be, they pleased themselves with the *Supremacy* over Christians, which under the Ambiguity of that Title they assumed to themselves. In effect, upon certain Occasions they were *Magisterial* enough in their use of it: And some Authors would persuade us, that the *Emperors* quitted their Pretensions to this Title, out of Respect to the *Pope*; who, it seems, began to be apprehensive that they might make ill uses of it.

But it is not so surprizing by far, to see these *Heathen* remains continue for some time in the Christian Religion, as to see what was most barbarous, extravagant, and directly opposite to Reason and the common Interest

terest of Mankind, keep such firm footing, as to be the last that left the Field of all the *Pagan* Superstitions, I mean, *Humane Sacrifices*. That Religion was certainly very fantastical and full of Variety; for it consisted of some things extremely frolick, and others no less mournful. In one Place, the *Ladies* go to the Temples in a fit of Devotion, to offer their Favours to the first Comer: And in another place, the same Devotion causes the throats of *Men* to be cut upon an Altar. These detestable Sacrifices were practised by all Nations: The *Grecians* celebrated them, as well as the *Scythians*, though not so often; and the *Romans* (for all that they obliged the *Carthaginians*, in a Treaty of Peace concluded between them, not to sacrifice their Children to *Saturn*, according to the Custom derived from their Ancestors, the *Phœnicians*, yet) did themselves every Year offer up a Man to *Jupiter Latialis*. *Eusebius* cites *Porphyrius* for this, as a thing still in usage in his Days. *Lactantius* and *Prudentius*, the one in

in the beginning, and the other in the end of the fourth Age, are Evidences of the same thing, each of them for his own Time. These *Ceremonies*, that were so full of Horror, lasted as long as the Superstition of *Oracles*, which was only lyable to the Reproach of Stupidity and fond Credulity.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

That if Heathenism had not been abolish'd, yet Oracles would have ceased; and the first particular Reason hereof.

THE down-fall of *Heathenism*, when *Christianity* triumphed over it, could do no less than involve *Oracles* in the common ruine with its self. But it may be farther asserted that *Christianity*, even before it became the reigning *Religion*, was an irresistible enemy to *Oracles*; for the *Christians* made it their business to disabuse mankind, and discover impostures. And yet if the *Christian Religion* had never been, *Oracles* would for other reasons have lost their credit by degrees, and at last have quite fail'd.

It was observ'd that they began to degenerate from the very time when

when they left off giving their answers in Verse. *Plutarch* has written a tract expressly to enquire about the reason of this Change, wherein (according to the fashion of *Greek Authors*) he sets down all that could be said on this subject, either true or false. First he saies, that the *God* who inspires the *Pythian Priestess* proportions himself to her Capacity, and does not answer in Verse by her, unless she have a natural faculty that way; for the prediction only belongs to *Apollo*, but the manner of Expression to the *Priestess*. Thus, it is not the fault of the *Musician*, if he cannot make as good melody with a *Cittern* as with a *Lute*; for the property of the Instrument must be considered. Suppose, it had been the custom for the *Oracle* to deliver its answers in writing, could we reasonably deny that *Apollo* inspired 'em, unless the *Priestess* wrote 'em in a fair hand. The Soul of the *Prophetess*, when united to *Apollo*, is like an innocent *Maid* when she is first Married, who is ignorant both of
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the pleasure and the duty of her new condition.

But why then did the Ancient *Priestesses* always answer in Verse? Were not they as pure and Virgin Souls, contracted to *Apollo*? To this *Plutarch* replies first of all, That even the Ancient *Priestesses* did now and then speak in Prose. And besides this, in Old times all People were born *Poets*: so that, as he tells us, they had no sooner drank a little freely, but they made Verses; they had no sooner cast their eyes on a Handsom Woman, but they were all Poesy, and their very common discourse fell naturally into Feet and Rhime: So that their *Feasts* and their *Courtships* were the most delectable things in the World. But now this Poetick *Genius* has deserted Mankind: and tho' our passions be as ardent as those of our Ancestors, and we talk as much as they did, yet Love at present creeps in humble prose. And even all the *Socrates's* and *Plato's*, who discoursed so much concerning that agreeable passion, had

had not the least skill in *Poetry*.

Now all this has too much fancy and too little truth in it, to deserve a serious answer. But *Plutarch* gives us another reason, which has something more of probability; which is this; that the Ancients wrote alwaies in Verse, whether they treated of *Religion*, *Morality*, *Natural Philosophy* or *Astrology*. *Orpheus* and *Hesiod*, whom every body acknowledges for *Poets*, were *Philosophers* also: and *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Eudoxus*, and *Thales*, whom all Men own for *Philosophers*, were *Poets* too. It is very strange indeed that *Poetry* should be elder Brother to *Prose*, and that Men did not at first light upon the most natural and easie way of expressing their thoughts; but it is very probable, that since all their writings were as so many precepts, they were shap'd into measured lines, that they might be the more easily remembred: and therefore all their Laws and their rules of *Morality* were in Verse. By this we may see that *Poetry* had a much more

more serious beginning than is usually imagin'd, and that the *Muses* have of late days mightily deviated from their original Gravity. Who would imagine that the *Old Statutes* should by right have been written in Metre, and *Chaucer's Tales* in Prose? There was a necessity therefore, saies *Plutarch*, that Ancient *Oracles* should be deliver'd in Verses, since all matters of importance were so; for *Apollo* was then willing to follow the mode of those times, and when *Prose* came afterwards to be in use, he was for being in the fashion still.

I am of the same opinion my self, and believe that *Oracles* at first gave their answers in Verse, both that they might be more easily remembred, and to comply with the custom which had condemned *Prose* to be used only in trival discourses. But *History* and *Philosophy* began to shake off those useless Chains about the Reign of *Cyrus*. For *Thales*, who lived at that time, was one of the last Poetick *Philosophers*; but *Apollo* continued

nued to speak in Verse till about *Pyrrhus's* daies, as *Cicero* informs us, which was about two hundred and thirty years after *Cyrus*. Whence it appears, that *Poetry* being found suitable to the dignity of *Oracles*, it was retain'd in use at *Delphos*, as long as it was possible; till at last plain *Prose* getting the victory banish'd it quite from thence.

Plutarch could hardly be in earnest, when he said, that *Oracles* were therefore at last pronounced in *Prose*, because People began to require clearer answers, and to be weary of the Mysterious bombast of *Verses*. For whether it were the *Gods* or but the *Priests* that spoke, I would fain know how Men durst accuse 'em of obscurity.

But he has more probability on his side, when he pretends, that prophetick versifying fell into contempt, by being in use amongst those *Fortune-tellers*, who stroling about the High-ways, were consulted by the Rabble: Now, the *Priests* who belonged to the *Temples*, scorn'd to use

use the same Customs in common with these *Gypsies*; for they thought themselves to be a nobler and graver sort of *Fortune-tellers*; which makes a mighty difference, I'll assure you, in this great affair.

But *Plutarch* reserves his true reason till last: which is, that in former times Men went to consult at *Delphos* only about matters of the highest consequence; as *Wars*, Building of *Cities*, interest of *Kings* and *Commonwealths*; whereas now adays, saies he, every ordinary Person runs thither to ask the *Oracle*, If they shall Marry, If they shall buy a slave, If they shall thrive by their Trade; and when a *City* sends thither, 'tis only to enquire, whether their Lands will yield a good Crop, or their Cattle increase. These questions deserve not the trouble of an answer in Verse, for if *Apollo* should take that pains, he would be like those *Sophisters*, who labour mightily to show their learning, when there is no proper occasion for it.

But now I come to that which

was the most effectual cause of the ruine of *Oracles*. The *Romans* made themselves Masters of all *Greece*, and those Kingdoms founded by *Alexander's* Successors : and as soon as the *Grecians* had submitted to the *Roman* Yoke, from which they had no hopes of being ever free, they were no longer agitated with the continual divisions and quarrels which had wont to harass those petty *States*, whose interests were so mightily embroiled ; for their common Masters made 'em all quiet, and peace was the product of their slavery. And I think, the *Greeks* had never happy days till then ; for they lived in a profound tranquility, and in perfect ease ; they passed their time in their places of exercise, in their *Theaters*, and in their *Schools* of *Philosophy*. They had publick sports, *Comedies*, *Disputations* and *Harrangues*; and for Men of their *Genius*, what could be desired more ? But all this afforded little business for *Oracles*, and there was very seldom any occasion to importune the *Delphian God*.
And

And it is very easie to imagine, that the *Priests* would not give themselves the trouble of answering in Verse, when they found their trade fell off, and the profit of it was not worth the while.

And as the *Romans* did the *Oracles* some prejudice by the peace which they established in *Greece*, so they did them more by the slight esteem which they had of 'em themselves : for their folly did not lie that way ; they addicted themselves only to the Books of the *Sibylls* and to the *Tuscan Divinations*, which were performed by the observations of the flights of *Birds* and the entrails of *Sacrificed Beasts*. Now the maxims and opinions of the *Victors*, easily obtain amongst the *Conquered* ; and therefore it is no wonder that *Oracles*, being a *Greek* invention, should follow the fate of *Greece*; and that as with her they flourish'd in prosperity, so with her they lost their Ancient Glory.

But for all this, we must acknowledge, that there were some *Oracles*

in Italy. *Tiberius*, as *Suetonius* says, went to the Oracle of *Geryon* near *Padua*; where there was a certain Spring, if we will believe *Claudian*, which restored speech to the Dumb and healed all sorts of Diseases. *Suetonius* saies further, that *Tiberius* had once a mind to destroy all the Oracles that were near *Rome*; but he was prevented by the miracle of the *Prænestine* Lots, which, when they were brought up to *Rome* in a Box well lock'd and seal'd, were not to be found there; but when the Box was carried back to *Præneste*, then they were found in it again.

To these Lots of *Præneste* and those of *Antium*, we must add the Lots of the * Temple of *Hercules* which was at *Tibur*.

* *Statius*.

Pliny the Younger thus describes the Oracle of *Clitumnus* the God of a certain River in *Umbria*: The Temple is Ancient and much revered; in it stands *Clitumnus* in a Roman habit, and his Lots manifest his Presence and the power of his Divinity. Round about it, there are several little Chapels,

pels, in some of which there are fountains and Springs: for *Clitumnus* is, as it were, the father of many other little Rivers which join with its Streams. There is a Bridge which separates the Sacred part of these Waters from the prophane. Above this Bridge Men may only go in Boats; but below it they may bathe themselves in the River. This is the only River of my acquaintance that was Oracular, for they had other business to do than to turn Fortune-tellers.

But there were Oracles at *Rome* it self. Had not *Æsculapius* one in his Temple which stood in an Island in the River *Tibur*? There has been found at *Rome* a piece of a Marble Table, wherein the Miracles of *Æsculapius* are engraven in Greek. One of the most considerable of which, is this that follows, translated word for word from the Inscription. At the same time the Oracle made this answer to a Blind Man Named *Caius*. He was bid go to the Sacred Altar, and kneel down and Worship there; then to go from the Right side to the

Lest, and lay his five fingers upon the Altar, and afterwards clap his hand upon his Eyes. After all this was done, the Blind Man was restored to his Sight, as all the People were Witnesses, and testified the joy which they received in seeing such mighty wonders wrought in the Reign of our Emperor Antoninus. The two other Cures are less miraculous; for one was of a Pleurisie and the other of a loss of Blood; (both of 'em very desperate Diseases without doubt,) but the God prescribed to the Sick Persons some Pine Apples and Honey with Wine and certain Ashes; which were things that those Men who are something incredulous, will be apt to say are meerly natural remedies.

These Inscriptions, for all that they are in Greek, were certainly done at Rome; for the form of the Letters and the spelling, do not at all seem to be from the hand of some Grecian Sculptor. Besides, tho' it be true, that the Romans made their Inscriptions in Latin, yet they made some few in Greek, especially when they had
some

some particular reason for it. Now it is very probable, that no other language but *Greek* was used in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, because he was originally a *Grecian God*, and brought to *Rome* in that great plague, of which every one knows the Story.

Thus we see that the Oracle of *Æsculapius* was not of a *Roman* institution: and I doubt not, but that if it were an enquiry worth the while, most of the *Italian Oracles* would be found to be of a *Greek* Original.

However it be, the smalness of the number of the *Italian Oracles*, and even of those that were at *Rome* it self, makes but a very inconsiderable exception to the generality of the notion which we propose. *Æsculapius* dealt only in Physick, and concerned not himself in matters of Government: and tho' he had a rare knack at making Blind Men see, yet I believe the *Senate* would have been loth to have depended upon his advice in a case even of the smallest importance.
Private

Private persons amongst the *Romans* might give what credit they listed to *Oracles*; but the *State* had little faith in them. Thus the *Sibylls* Books and the entrails of Beasts governed all. And so a vast number of *Gods* fell into contempt, when People took notice that the Masters of the World would not vouchsafe to consult 'em.

C H A P. VI.

The second particular cause of the Cessation of Oracles.

BUT I meet with a difficulty in this business, that I will not conceal. For if about the time of *Pyrrhus*, *Apollo* was reduced to Prose, this implies that *Oracles* began then to grow into discredit, and yet the *Romans* were not masters of *Greece* till a long time after *Pyrrhus*; and between the Reign of *Pyrrhus* and the *Romans* conquest of *Greece*, there were as many Wars and Commoti-
ons

ons in that Country as ever, and by consequence as many important subjects to consult the *God of Delphos* about.

This indeed is true; but we must also observe that about the time of *Alexander* the Great, a little before *Pyrrhus*'s days, there appear'd in *Greece* certain great Sects of *Philosophers*, such as the *Peripateticks* and *Epicureans*, who made a mock of *Oracles*. The *Epicureans* especially made sport with the paltry Poetry that came from *Delphos*. For the *Priests* hammered out their Verses as well as they could, and they oftentimes committed faults against the common Rules of *Profodia*. Now those Fleering *Philosophers* were mightily concerned that *Apollo*, the very *God of Poetry*, should come so far behind *Homer*, who was but a meer mortal, and was beholding to the same *Apollo* for his inspirations.

It was to little purpose to excuse the matter, by saying, that the badness of the Verses was a kind of Testimony

stimony that they were made by a *God*, who nobly scorn'd to be tyed up to rules and to be confined to the *Beauty of a Style*. For this made no impression upon the *Philosophers*; who, to turn this answer into ridicule, compared it to the Story of a Painter, who being hired to draw the Picture of a *Horse* tumbling on his Back upon the ground, drew one running full speed: and when he was told, that this was not such a Picture as was bespoke, he turned it upside down, and then ask'd if the *Horse* did not tumble upon his back now. Thus these *Philosophers* jeered such Persons, who by a way of arguing that would serve both ways, could equally prove that the Verses were made by a *God*, whether they were good or bad.

So that at length the *Priests* of *Delphos* being quite baffled with the railleries of those learned Wits, renounced all Verses, at least as to the speaking them from the *Tripod*; for there were still some *Poets* maintain'd in the *Temple*, who at leisure turned

turned into Verse, what the Divine fury had inspired the *Pythian Priests* withal in Prose. It was very pretty, that Men could not be contented to take the *Oracle* just as it came piping hot from the Mouth of their *God*. But perhaps, when they had come a great way for it, they thought it would look silly to carry home an *Oracle* in Prose.

Nay the *Gods*, being willing to keep up the use of Verses as long as ever they could, did now and then stoop to borrow a line or two out of *Homer*; whose Poetry, it seems, was better than their own. Of this there are abundance of Examples; but, both this borrowing of Verses, and keeping *Poets* at standing wages in their *Temples*, may well pass for good arguments that the old natural Poetry of *Oracles* had mightily lost its reputation.

But these great Sects of *Philosophers*, enemies to *Oracles*, must needs have done them a more essential prejudice than the bare reducing them
to

to Prose. For questionless they opened the eyes of a great many rational persons, and even amongst the populace they made the infallibility of those things lie under more suspicion than it had done before. For when *Oracles* first crept out into the World, *Philosophy* had not yet appear'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The last particular causes of the Cessation of Oracles.

TH E cheats of *Oracles* were so gross, that at last they were discovered by a thousand several accidents. I suppose that *Oracles* were at first entertained with greediness and joy, because that nothing could be more convenient than to have *Gods* always ready at hand to answer every question that might be suggested by uneasiness or curiosity: and I fancy that it was with a great deal of reluctance that People parted with this supposed conveniency; and that *Oracles* would never have come to an end as long as *Heathenism* lasted, if they had not been the most impertinent things in the World. But at last Men were forced to yield to their own experiences and suffer themselves to be disabused.

To

To this the Priests gave no small help by the extreme Impudence, which they used in the Exercise of their false Ministry; for they thought that things were brought to such a Point, that there was no occasion for any Circumspection.

I say nothing of the Waggishness of the *Oracles*, which they sometimes delivered: For Example, * To a Man that came to ask of the Deity, *What he should do to grow rich*, he answered very pleasantly, *That he need do no more than get all the Land between Sycione and Corinth*. And sometimes the *Consulter* would make free with the *God*. *Polemon*, sleeping in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, to learn of him how to cure his Gout, the *God* appeared to him and told him: *That he must abstain from cold Drink*. *Polemon* replied, *you would be puzzled then, my good Friend, if you were consulted about an Ox?* But these were but the gayeties and frolicks of the Priests, who would sometimes both give and take a Jest.

But it was still more remarkable, that

that the *Gods* never failed to fall in Love with the *fair Ladies*; for they must come and pass away the Nights in their Temples, tricked up for the purpose by their own Husbands, and furnished with Presents to make the *God* amends for his pains. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that the Doors of the Temple were shut up in the sight of the whole World, but who could secure the Husbands against the Passages under Ground.

For my Part, I do not question, but such Intrigues were often practised. And *Herodotus* writes, that in the eighth and uppermost Story of that lofty Tower belonging to the Temple of *Belus* in *Babylon*, there was a Magnificent Bed, where there lay every Night a pretty Woman selected by the *God*. The like was done at *Thebes* in *Egypt*: And when the Priestess of the Oracle of *Patara* in *Lycia* was to prophesie, she must first take a Nights Lodging all alone in the Temple, whither *Apollo* came (forsooth) to inspire her.

All these things were practised during

ring the darkest Mists of *Paganism*, and in times when *Heathen Ceremonies* were not to be contradicted; but in the view of the very Christians themselves *Saturn of Alexandria* had such Women brought in the Night to his Temple, as he thought fit to chuse by the Mouth of his Priest *Tyrannus*. Many Women had received this Honour with a great deal of devout Respect, and none of them made any Complaints of *Saturn*, though he was the *Oldest* and the least a *Gallant* of all the Gods. But at last there was one, who having had her Nights lodging in the Temple, considered with herself, that nothing had passed there, but what mortal Man was capable of performing; and *Tyrannus* could have done himself: And so she acquainted her Husband with her Suspicion, who hereupon accused *Tyrannus*. The unhappy Priest confessed all; and the Lord knows what a scandal this gave to the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*.

Thus the Wickedness of the *Priests*, their Insolence, and several Chances

Chances that had discovered their Cheats, and the Obscurity, Uncertainty and Falseness of their Answers would at last have quite ruined the Reputation of *Oracles*, and entirely abolished them, even if *Heathenism* had not been come to a Period. But the thing became more unavoidable by the Addition of other Foreign Reasons: Such as first the Raillery of the *Grecian Philosophers*, then the little use the *Romans* had always of them, and last of all the *Christians* utter detestation of them, and putting a full end to them and *Paganism* together.

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